THE DICKENSIAN

A Magazine for Dickens Lovers

EDITED BY

LESLIE C. STAPLES

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FIFTY-FIVE

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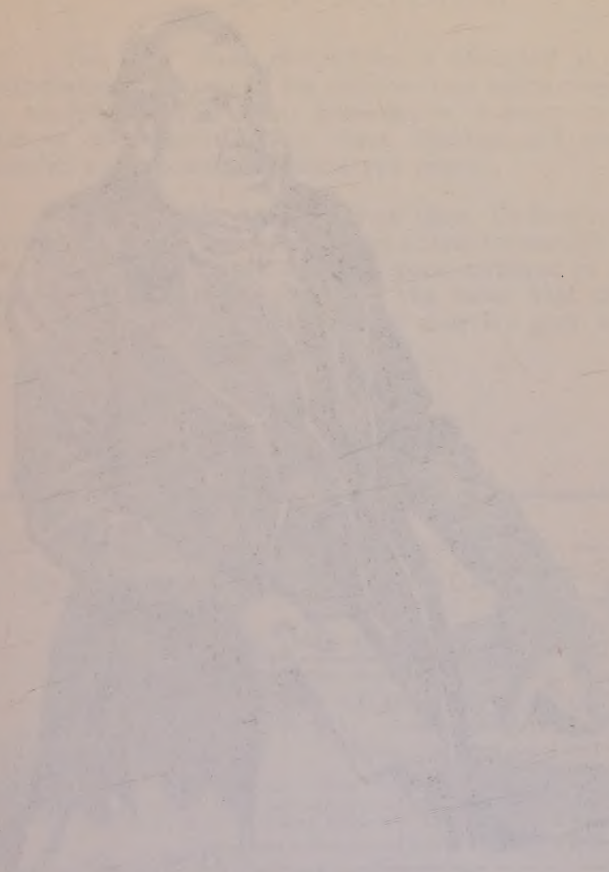

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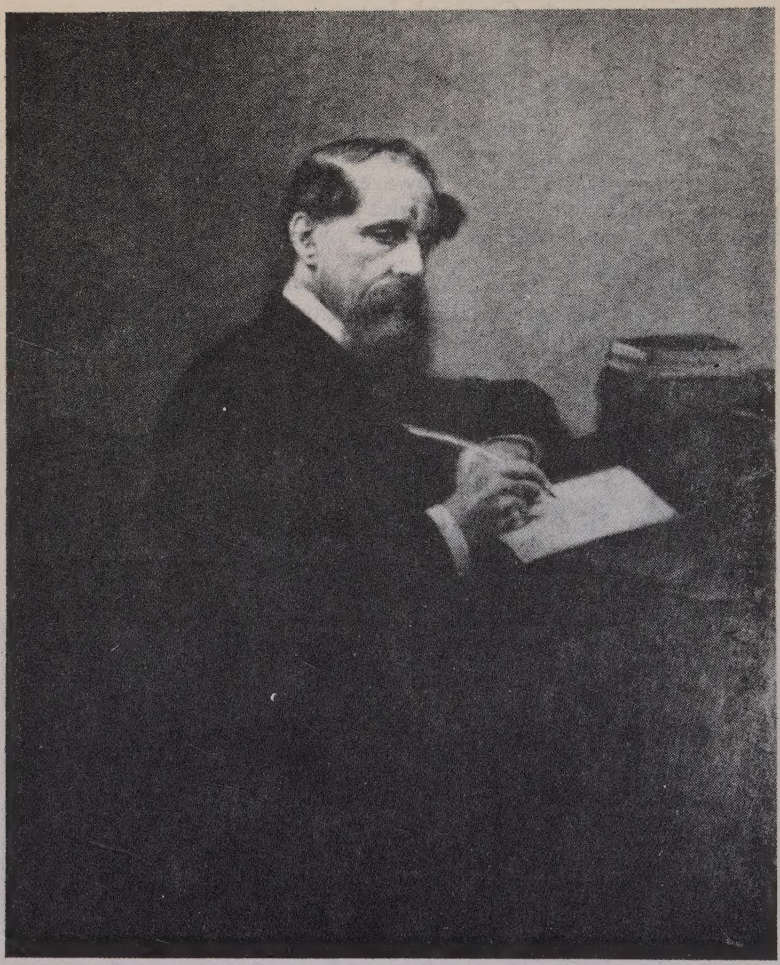

Charles Dickens
by Sol Eytinge, Jun.

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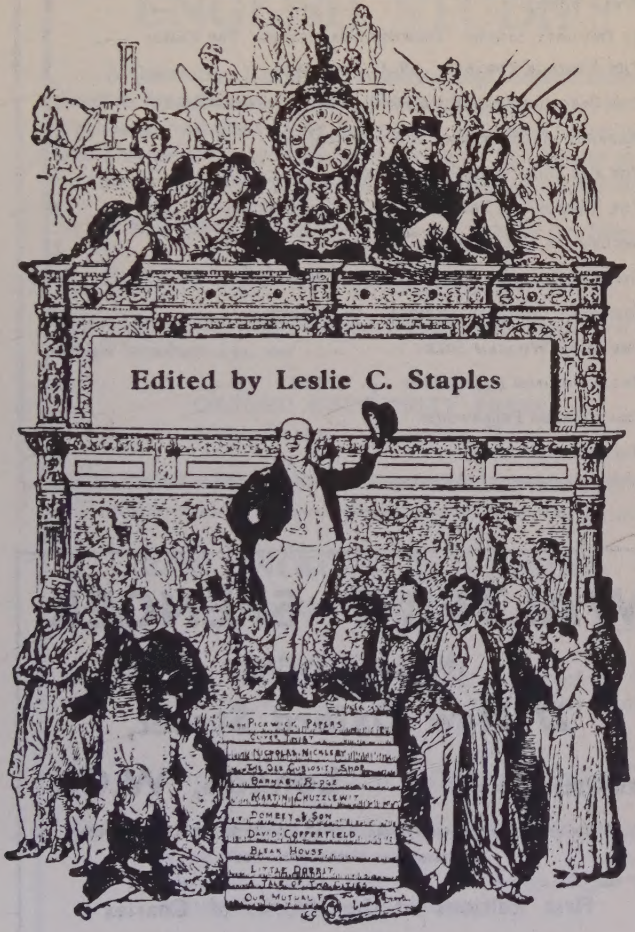

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THE DICKENSIAN

WINTER NUMBER

VOL. LV. JANUARY, 1959 No. 327

WHEN FOUND—

On the air Dickens has been much to the fore on the air in recent months. A Sunday evening radio serial devoted to *The Old Curiosity Shop*, adapted and produced by Charles Lefeaux, ran through the autumn. Mr. Lefeaux had a very difficult task here, but in most particulars he succeeded in his usual distinguished way. B.B.C. Television began a twelve-part serial of *Our Mutual Friend* in November, adapted by Freda Lingstrom, which, at the time of writing, is proceeding in fine style. In October, Arthur Benjamin's opera, *A Tale of Two Cities*, was given an impressive broadcast by B.B.C. television. Finally, on the Third Programme, on September 22nd, was given a most unusual programme of Dickens's verse, read by V. C. Clinton Baddeley and Catherine Salkeld. The programme consisted of "The Fine Old English Gentleman," and "Subjects for Painters," from *The Examiner*, "A Word in Season, from *The Keepsake*, "The Hymn of the Wiltshire Labourers," from *The Daily News*, and a song from *The Village Coquettes*, "Some folk who have grown old . . ." For the most part the poems chosen were biting and satirical. A highly successful broadcast, emphasising a side of Dickens's genius to which attention is but seldom devoted.

* * * * *

John Greaves Our Hon. Secretary's recital tour of North America is in full spate at the time of writing, but reports so far received indicate that his success has been immediate and complete. On this side of the ocean this will occasion no surprise, though a very great deal of pleasure. We hope to present a full report in our next issue.

* * * * *

Devonshire Terrace An interesting relic of No. 1 Devonshire Terrace, the sculptured mask from the keystone above the doorway, has found an appropriate resting place at the Sussex home of Mr. Harry Barrow, a member of the family of Dickens's mother.

* * * * *

Blundeston Local controversy has been aroused at Blundeston, Suffolk, the little village near Lowestoft which Dickens described, under the name of Blunderstone, as the boyhood home of David Copperfield, about a proposal to build a prison in the vicinity.

Godfried Bomans Our good friend Godfried Bomans, as one of the most popular contemporary novelists in Holland, was selected as the subject of a Television programme reminiscent of the English one entitled "This is Your Life," broadcast in Holland on October 2nd. Its most surprising feature, and one that speaks for itself, was the fact that the whole hour's programme was devoted to Dickens in one aspect or another. There were produced before the cameras, to the delighted astonishment of Mr. Bomans, Herman Hannink, secretary of the second Dutch Branch of the Fellowship inaugurated a few days earlier, Nanneke Hooimayer the sixteen-year-old girl who has won more than one Dickens *quiz* on the air in Holland, extracts from Dickens films, and the engineer responsible for a unique feature of the programme, the flight across the night sky of Amsterdam, and photographed on to the screen, of an aeroplane trailing letters of fire forming the name of DICKENS. Then there suddenly appeared the Editor of *The Dickensian*, who had been flown from London as the guest of the TV company. The Fellowship and its Conference in Holland next May were discussed, and then there were displayed a set of *David Copperfield* in the original parts, and Dickens's snuff box, brought from London. The star of the evening was the distinguished Dutch actor Albert van Dalsum, who gave the Buzfuz speech from Bardell *v.* Pickwick. Altogether a highly notable, valuable and enjoyable event.

* * * * *

Mermaid Theatre It is announced that the Mermaid Theatre now being erected, the first professional theatre to be built within the confines of the City of London for three hundred years, is to stage annually a dramatic adaptation from Dickens. The theatre's Founder and Director, Bernard Miles, will be well remembered for his screen impersonations of Joe Gargery and Newman Noggs.

* * * * *

Sir John Squire The Fellowship has lost another prominent Vice-President by the death of Sir John Squire, who was an enthusiastic Dickensian. He shared the toast to "The Immortal Memory" of Dickens with John Drinkwater at the Birthday Dinner in London, in 1937.

* * * * *

London tablets The L.C.C. tablet which indicated Dickens's residence at 1 Devonshire Terrace was broken by the demolition contractors, and will not therefore be replaced on the site, but we understand that the architects of the new building are to incorporate a "Dickens feature" in their design.

* * * * *

Zwolle Branch Welcome to our second branch in Holland, founded on September 29th last.

LESLIE C. STAPLES

48 DOUGHTY STREET
DICKENS NEGOTIATES

By The Editor

INTERESTING new light upon the history of 48 Doughty Street is shed by a parcel of documents which were offered for sale at Sotheby's on April 21st last. In addition to giving details of the early owners and occupants they refer to Dickens's acquisition and relinquishment of the house, and include deeds and letters, two of the latter in the hand of Dickens, hitherto unpublished. It was the good fortune of the present writer to secure these papers which have now been presented to the Dickens House, by a group of friends whose names appear below. The House already possesses Dickens's original tenancy agreement, presented by the late Lord Wakefield in 1933, which was printed in full in *The Dickensian*, 1937, p. 213.

Doughty Street was originally named Upper John Street, but subsequently the southern part retained the name of John Street and the northern part became Doughty Street. At the end of the eighteenth century leases of building plots became available to intending builders. At Michaelmas 1799 Elizabeth Doughty of Bedford Row granted to John Wilson a lease of No. 38 (now 48) Doughty Street for 95 years and the house was built in 1801; she also granted him a lease of No. 32 (now 42) from Michaelmas 1801 for 98 years. John Wilson established himself and his son, John Freestone Wilson, at No. 38 as architects and surveyors.

In 1802 John Freestone Wilson married Elizabeth Piggott and John Wilson transferred his leasehold interest in No. 32 to trustees to pay the income therefrom to Elizabeth Piggott after her marriage.

In 1807 father and son agreed to dissolve partnership, and John Wilson assigned the residential portion of his leasehold interest in No. 38 to his son, and granted him an annuity of £150, for the security of which he transferred the non-residential portion to trustees. By his will dated 9th March 1808 the son bequeathed his interest in No. 38 to his wife and directed trustees to collect and pay her the rent and profits. During the next few years, Nos. 32 and 38 became Nos. 42 and 48 Doughty Street.

The residential portion of No. 48 extended 70 ft. eastward from Doughty Street, and the non-residential part an additional 63 ft. eastward and 120 southward, this comprising a large piece of land behind several of the Doughty Street houses, and now covered by buildings in Brownlow Mews.

At Christmas, 1822, No. 48, then in the occupation of Henry Jackson, was let to William Greenfield for fourteen years, at a rental of £105 on a full repairing lease.

The death of John Freestone Wilson is not recorded, but on September 21st, 1822, a marriage settlement was made between Elizabeth Wilson and Thomas Henderson, and 48 and 42, among other properties, were put in the hands of trustees in order that the income from them should accrue to Elizabeth after this marriage.

Most of the foregoing is derived from three of the deeds contained in the parcel, and now we come to the correspondence. The earliest letters are those between tenants and solicitors prior to Dickens's occupation and merely amplify facts already given. They show that the house had passed to the trusteeship of Joseph Staines Banks, 1766-1848, sometime vicar of Hemingford Grey, Hunts., and in the late eighteen-thirties of 4 Devonshire Street, Portland Place, whose business affairs were dealt with by his son Edward Wilson Banks, 1806?-1869, a solicitor of Witham, Essex, formerly of Welwyn, Herts. Father and son were occasionally assisted in business matters by William Thresher of Fareham. It would appear that before the expiration of his lease in 1836, Greenfield sublet to John Welsh, who conducted some kind of business at 26 Skinner Street. In 1836 he had been in occupation for six years, and in August that year applied for a new lease, offering £80 per annum, if Banks would make an allowance of £20 towards improvements in the house, but the offer came to nothing, and he vacated the house in December. In the following February there was an application from a Mr. Roe for a lease at £70 a year.

The next letter brings Dickens into the story when Thomas Handisyde wrote to Banks:

18 March 1837

Sir,

I have just had an offer for your house as follows

Mr. C. Dickens (Editor of the Picnic) would be willing to treat for the house No. 48 Doughty St. If the landlord were disposed to let it on a simple agreement for 3 years at the rent of £80 per annum. To new paint the front Drawing Room and blind frames round windows. It is extremely probable that Mr. Dickens would remain its tenant for a considerable time as he has engagements which will keep him in London for many years to come, but he objects to take a lease of any house—whatever— It is unnecessary to add that the first reference will be given and the most satisfactory that can be required.

Mr. Wickens will be glad to secure an early answer (directed to him at no. 30 Upper Norton Street or 75 Furnivals Inn) as he must make choice out of the houses he has seen by Ladyday.

Mr. Dickens mentions also that the ceiling requires to be cleaned.

If the above offer can be entertained will you oblige me with an answer by return post. It would be well to allow him something towards the beautifying to be done by himself.

Mr. Dickens is proprietor of the Pickwick etc. is known by the name of Boz—

Yours respectfully
T. Handisyde & Son
55 Lambs Conduit Street

Banks Esq.,
Witham,
Essex.

Handisyde appears to write 75 Furnivals Inn, but 15 was

probably the correct address, Dickens having moved into those chambers from No. 13 a year earlier. Handisyde was not very accurate as he once refers to Dickens as Mr. Wickens, and to Pickwick as Picnic. He cannot have meant *The Pic Nic Papers* as that publication was not thought of until much later. 30 Upper Norton Street (now Bolsover Street) was perhaps the address of John Dickens. Horwood's map, 1799, does not show Upper Norton Street, but 30 Norton Street is shown at the south-eastern corner of the intersection of Norton Street and Carburton Street. In maps of a little later date, on which individual houses are not indicated, Upper Norton Street was that portion of the street to the north of Carburton Street, and Norton Street to the south. Both now comprise Bolsover Street.

Thomas Handisyde and Son were upholsterers and cabinet makers. At this time there was also a Henry Handisyde, also a cabinet maker, at 14 St. John's Mews, John Street, probably a member of the same family.

The offer was apparently favourably received, as Handisyde wrote again to Edward Banks on March 29th, requesting a draft agreement for Dickens's consideration, adding that the "painting and white-washing were proceeding." Dickens was in residence in the first days of April. The first of his letters in the Nonesuch Edition to be addressed from there was written to Forster on April 7th. He took out an insurance policy with the Sun Fire Office on May 17th for the contents of the house (see *The Dickensian*, 1955, p. 136).

Two years elapsed and Dickens wrote to Banks:

Petersham, Surrey,
Monday June 20th 1839

Dear Sir,

I have this day paid into Hankey's, a cheque for £30—deducting from the half year's rent, the sum of £10 paid on the 25th of April last for ground rent to Mr. Gotobed, whose receipt I have left out in Doughty Street under cover to you.

I am living out of town at present, and so missed your brother, which I trust, however, has not occasioned you any inconvenience.

Yours truly
CHARLES DICKENS.

Edward Bankes Esquire.

The recipient of the ground-rent was probably another lawyer, Thomas Gotobed, of 3 Great Knightrider Street, Doctors' Commons. Dickens appears to have made an error in the date of his letter: June 20th was a Thursday.

In the following month Dickens was contemplating removal. On July 19th Thomas Mitton, his friend and solicitor, notified Banks that Dickens did not intend to continue the tenancy after the period fixed by the agreement, shortly to expire, and assuring him that access to the house would be granted to prospective tenants. This last offer was withdrawn in at least one instance,

as we shall see, of necessity. Four months later Dickens himself wrote to Banks:

Doughty Street London
November 11th 1839.

Dr Sir,

I have a proposition to make to you relative to leaving your house, which, under the circumstances, I think it very probable may meet your views as well as mine by enabling you to make whatever repairs or alterations you may deem advisable before letting it again, without losing rent or time in the meanwhile. Some repairs I presume you will deem it necessary to make at once, with a view to obtaining a tenant on good terms. The drains for instance have been a serious annoyance to us, and although we have had the plumbers in the house half a dozen times, we have not been able to make them last our time without often receiving strong notice of their being in the neighbourhood.

The proposition I have to make to you is this: I will give you up possession at Christmas (paying the rent to March) if you will take the fixtures off my hands. I purchased them when I came in and have improved and added to them since, and as they stand—excellent blinds being fitted in every window, and many little conveniences here and there—they certainly improve the appearance of the house and give it an air of much greater comfort and accommodation. There is some pattern furniture, namely the drawing-room carpet, the fender and fire-irons, the curtains and fitted cornices, and the oilcloth in the passage—all in the best condition. These I wish to offer you too. If you feel inclined to take them *all*, I propose they should be valued by any respectable person—Mr. Handisyde for instance who valued for you before—and in consideration of your taking the whole, I would make an abatement in the price of fifteen per cent upon his valuation.

The advantage to you would be that besides having a certain profit on these things from the next tenant, you would have possession for three months, receiving the rent from me meantime, and could do anything you wished to the house without loss of rent, and perhaps let it before the quarter expired. The advantage to me would be that I should dispose of these matters at once (at a sacrifice which I would rather make than keep them) and so have done with them and the house together.

An answer at your convenience will oblige me. Meanwhile I am, Yours very truly.

CHARLES DICKENS.

The remaining letters in the parcel concern Dickens's successor at Doughty Street, and were exchanged between Banks, his father, and William Thresher of Fareham. A Mr. Dixon was in treaty for a lease, and there was also an offer to purchase by someone referred to as "B." Joseph Banks wrote to his son on November 23rd:

"Handisyde . . . says Mr. Dixon will, he has no doubt, take the house for seven years on lease at £80 per ann. from next Xmas, you allowing one quarter of a year's rent for repairs etc.

Handisyde has also seen Dickens, who is desirous of Dixon's being his successor as he will take the Fixtures and this offer of Dixon's he (H) recommends your attending to in *preference* to the application to purchase—B objects to taking D's Fixtures etc. on which account D will not be disposed to accommodate. H thinks B will not give more than £900, unless the house is altogether to his liking—and D will not let him see it now on account of Mrs D's confinement."

Dickens's third child, Kate Macready, had been born on October 29th.

In a letter now in the New York Public Library, Dickens gaily thanks Mitton for " so complete a conclusion," which certainly refers to his leaving Doughty Street, and would have been written shortly after the letter to Banks printed above. Dickens goes on: " Handisyde was here after you, and believes the house is let to the gentleman who saw it—carpet, curtains, fixtures and all." So Mr. Dixon appears to have taken possession, and we find William Thresher writing to Edward Banks on December 6th about the terms of the agreement, but he appears not to have stayed long, for according to the Census of 1841 there were then living there James Baker and Margaret Thorman, servant.

Thus Dickens left Doughty Street about Christmastide 1839, to take up residence at that house of " great promise (and great premium) undeniable situation and excessive splendour "—No. 1 Devonshire Terrace.

The generous help of Mr. W. J. Carlton and Mr. E. J. Mitchell in the preparation of this account is warmly acknowledged.

The donors of this parcel of documents and letters to the Dickens House were: J. E. Beckett, W. J. Carlton, John Greaves, Mrs. M. E. House, T. S. Lascelles, E. J. Mitchell, Leslie C. Staples, and the Boston (Mass.) Branch of the Dickens Fellowship, all of whom are most heartily thanked.

THE EYTINGE PORTRAIT

By N. C. Peyrouton

WHAT surprised and puzzled me most when I was engaged on research for *The Gurney Photographs*[1] was that Dickens's American friend and publisher, James T. Fields, had given those photographic studies no publicity in his magazines *Our Young Folks* and *The Atlantic Monthly*, even though at the time Dickens was represented by *A Holiday Romance* (January-May 1868) in the former and by *George Silverman's Explanation* (January-March 1868) in the latter.

What could this mean? A careful check of the notices and advertisements in the *Atlantic* provided an answer. Fields was committed to publicising a portrait of Dickens by the illustrator of his own firm's Diamond Edition of the author's novels, Sol Eytinge Jr.[2] If he noticed the Gurney photographs he might be

[1] *The Dickensian*, Vol. LIV., No. 326.

[2] Solomon Eytinge (1833-1905) identified on p. 217 *Dictionary of Artists in America*, ed. Grace and Wallace (New Haven and London, 1957) as " Genre painter and illustrator, probably a son of the actor of the same name. Eytinge was for many years on the staff of *Harper's Weekly* and was well known for his group paintings of Negro life in the South. He died in Bayonne (N.J.) March 25, 1905."

considered disloyal although it is doubtful that such notice would have seriously prejudiced the sale of his friend Eytinge's engraving.

Be this as it may, matters were already sufficiently complicated. Had not Dolby given Dickens's word that the sitting for J. Gurney and Son was and would be the only one?[1] How was this to be reconciled with the statements of the notice on page four of *The Atlantic Advertiser and Miscellany* (February 1868, No. 124)? It reads in part (my italics):

> Messrs. Ticknor and Fields have published an admirable lithographic portrait of Charles Dickens, drawn by S. Eytinge, Jr., who was fortunate enough to secure *sittings* from Mr. Dickens. The picture, therefore, is not an enlarged copy of a photograph, but *an authentic likeness taken from life* . . .

Further, the Eytinge was advertised as "the most desirable Portrait which has been offered to the American Public." But those who compare it with the Gurney photographs must agree that in so far as photographs and engravings are comparable, the Gurneys are superior. [The Eytinge Dickens which Fields published[2]—until now the only one that we have seen—has a wild, nearly furtive expression.[3] Happily this is not characteristic of the original painting reproduced here: this is an extremely sensitive Dickens, deep, contemplative.] Of course, we would not expect the publishers to advertise their portrait as the second "most desirable".

Once again, as with the Gurneys, Frederick Kitton did the pioneer research on the Eytinge. In 1890 he arrived at an initial, not altogether satisfactory, conclusion:

> While in America a lithographic portrait of Dickens, representing him in the act of writing was published by Fields, Osgood & Co. of Boston, and in the advertisement this was described as "An Authentic Portrait of Charles Dickens, drawn on stone by S. Eytinge, Jr., whose Illustration of Dickens's Novels have been so universally popular: size, 19 by 24 inches." Whether or not Dickens sat for this portrait I have not been able to ascertain.*
>
> * Mr. J. R. Osgood does not recall any actual sitting, but remembers that Eytinge often saw Dickens while making the drawing, which was probably based on a photographic likeness. . .[4]

In 1899 Kitton amended his finding asserting that the lithographic portrait was a reproduction of a painting by Sol Eytinge "probably from sittings . . . now in the possession of Mr. W. E. Benjamin of New York."[5] And here the matter was allowed to drop.

Although nearly sixty years had passed I was determined to pick up this last thread and do with it what I could. I did not doubt that Mr. Benjamin must have long since passed on to his

[1] See my *The Gurney Photographs*.
[2] See Frontispiece, *The Dickensian*, Vol. XXVI, No. 213.
[3] But by a reviewer in a contemporary issue of the *Philadelphia Bulletin*, it was well received. He writes: "The crowds that have listened to the author's delightful readings will not fail to perceive that Mr. Eytinge has caught in his picture one of the novelists most characteristic expressions." A clipping from Kitton's scrap book of *Dickensiana*, Vol. IV, p. 33.
[4] Frederick G. Kitton, *Charles Dickens by Pen and Pencil*, p. 88.
[5] Frederick G. Kitton, *Dickens and His Illustrators*, p. 225.

reward but I hoped that I might trace a descendant. With much less difficulty than I had anticipated I discovered that he had a son, Mr. Henry Rogers Benjamin. To him, hoping against hope, I wrote. He replied assuring me that he owned the painting and that " this painting has been in my family ever since I was a very small boy . . . I personally do not know where my father bought it or for how much as undoubtedly the records have long since passed out of existence. However, I was particularly interested to learn the artist is Sol Eytinge. This I did not know as I had not been able to find a signature on the portrait."[1]

My final wish: to compare the engraving with the painting, was gratified by Mr. Benjamin who presented me with a large photograph of the portrait.[2] Mr. Benjamin states that the original measures 50 by 40 inches; obviously it is a great deal more imposing than a photograph can suggest. The name plate identifies it simply as of the " British School, 19th Century." Although the pose bears some resemblance to the Gurney, I am of the opinion that Dickens sat for it and that in so doing he might have been breaking the letter but not the spirit of the agreement with the Gurneys.

But what if he had accommodated Eytinge *before* sitting for the Gurneys ? We know that on December 11 Dickens was with Eytinge and Anthony, " his American designer and engraver "[3] It is not unlikely that arrangements for the sittings and even Dickens's agreement to the publishing of " an authentic " lithographic likeness were negotiated. Certainly Eytinge did not proceed without Dickens's authorisation, for the two were and remained friends—Dickens entertaining the young artist during his visit in 1869 at Gad's Hill and in London as well as including him on tours of Rochester and Canterbury.[4] Dickens thought highly of his work for the Diamond Edition[5] and may have pointed out to the Gurneys that he felt obligated to sit for Eytinge and that he must not be bound in this single instance by any agreement.

In fact it is doubtful that the sale of the Gurneys were much affected: Gurney would draw chiefly on the New York trade and Eytinge on the Boston. Finally, J. Gurney & Son continued to retain exclusive photographic rights—which is what they were really interested in.

* * * * *

I am greatly indebted to Mr. Henry Rogers Benjamin without whose co-operation I should not have been able to complete this research and I am especially grateful for his permission to reproduce *Charles Dickens at his Desk*, by Sol Eytinge.

My thanks also to the Dickens House, where I was kindly allowed to examine the scrapbooks of Frederick G. Kitton deposited there.

[1] Henry Rogers Benjamin to the author, January 16th, 1958. Since my correspondence with Mr. Benjamin I have obtained a copy of Catalogue No. 68 (1895?) issued by William Evarts Benjamin—just after W. H. Walker joined the firm—in which he advertises for sale at five hundred dollars an oil painting *Charles Dickens at his Desk*. This is the painting which hangs today in the playroom of Mr. Benjamin's Long Island residence. Since the painting would easily have fetched the amount asked we can only conclude that it was almost immediately withdrawn from inventory.

[2] See Frontispiece.

[3] M. A. DeWolfe Howe, *Memories of a Hostess* (Boston, 1922), p. 145.

[4] Edgar Johnson, Charles Dickens (New York, 1952), p. 1113.

[5] J. A. Hammerton, *The Dickens Picture-Book, A Record of the Dickens Illustrators* (London, 1910), p. 27.

THE FULFILMENT OF PIP'S EXPECTATIONS

By James Reed

GREAT EXPECTATIONS is more than a good tale well told. It is a work of mature reflection, a penetrating and compassionate study of the growth of a human mind moulded by the pattern of destiny. The true nature of Dickens's achievement here has, I believe, been greatly misunderstood, since critics generally have failed to appreciate the significance of the final chapter—the reunion of Pip and Estella. The author originally planned that they should part for ever, but was persuaded by Bulwer Lytton to alter this. The occasion is mentioned by Dickens in a letter to Forster of July 1st, 1861. " Bulwer," he writes, " so strongly urged it upon me, after reading the proofs, and supported his views with such good reasons, that I resolved to make the change . . . I have put in a very pretty piece of writing, and have no doubt the story will be more acceptable through the alteration."

We shall probably never know precisely what Bulwer's " good reasons " were, but it appears to me that good reasons exist, and that in the novel as it now stands Dickens has produced the only valid conclusion to a series of events which have a homogeneity, an integrity, never elsewhere achieved in his work.

Criticism, to my knowledge, either condemns Dickens for this change, or treats of it merely as a choice between a " happy " and an " unhappy " ending. Thus G. K. Chesterton: " So far had he travelled along the road of a heavier reality, that he even intended to give the tale an unhappy ending, making Pip lose Estella for ever; and he was only dissuaded from it by the robust romanticism of Bulwer Lytton " (*Charles Dickens*, Ch. IX). This type of comment reduces the work to the status of a novelette.

Mr. Jack Lindsay, who reads the work as a social allegory, adopts the same view; the meeting of Pip and Estella " was stuck on the end because Bulwer Lytton couldn't bear an unhappy ending." Elsewhere he writes about " this deformation of the end " (*Charles Dickens*, pp. 345, 371).

Finally, in an article in *The Dickensian* (Spring 1948) Mr. Humphry House refers to " the botched-up ending with Estella (p. 65) and quotes with approval Shaw's summary, " Its beginning is unhappy; its middle is unhappy; and the conventional happy ending is an outrage on it " (p. 64).

It is my main purpose in this essay to suggest that on the evidence, no other conclusion than that adopted by Dickens is reasonable, and that to apply terms like " happy " and " unhappy " to a union of two natures whose complexity Dickens has taken great pains to point out, is to use words which in this context have no meaning.

II

In the first chapter of *Great Expectations* we are given all that is essential, in theme and image, to a full understanding of the novel. At later stages the suggestion made by recurrent images is sufficient to set up a complex of responses by which the reader is

driven back to chapter one, to the identity of the world, the shape of love and fear, and the power of inescapable destiny to which Pip is to become reconciled only after passing through the purifying fire of experience, beginning in rebellion, ending in love.

" Ours was the marsh country, down by the river, within, as the river wound, twenty miles of the sea. My first most vivid and broad impression of the identity of things, seems to me to have been gained on a memorable raw afternoon towards evening. At such a time I found out for certain, that this bleak place overgrown with nettles was the churchyard; and that Philip Pirrip, late of this parish, and also Georgiana wife of the above, were dead and buried; and that Alexander, Bartholomew, Abraham, Tobias, and Roger, infant children of the aforesaid, were also dead and buried; and that the dark flat wilderness beyond the churchyard, intersected with dykes and mounds and gates, with scattered cattle feeding on it, was the marshes; and that the low, leaden line beyond was the river; and that the distant savage lair from which the wind was rushing was the sea; and that the small bundle of shivers growing afraid of it all and beginning to cry, was Pip.

" ' Hold your noise!' cried a terrible voice, as a man started up from the graves at the side of the church porch. ' Keep still, you little devil, or I'll cut your throat ! ' "

It is a memorable vision of bleak and hostile Nature abetting a criminal of similar aspect. In the moment of Pip's recognition of the otherness of the outside world, and consequently of his own isolation; in the moment of his realisation of the fact of death; there comes to him the convict with threats of murder, and with the marks of cruel Nature scattered over his poverty.

From here, Pip's life is dictated from without, until such time as he has reconciled in his own mind the conflicts of his own nature and of the two worlds in which he lives. He is forced to find food for the convict, and thus finds himself in a moral dilemma from which his infant mind can see no escape. He is the victim of a double loyalty; to the convict he has promised to help, and to Joe's household. Each element of this twin loyalty is hostile to and exclusive of the other, involving Pip inevitably in the betrayal of one. The sense of betrayal in Pip becomes the nerve centre, as it were, through which the fates dictate the boundaries of his future life.

Dickens now begins to accumulate images of criminality and to build up a shadow pattern of the future. The child's terror at his double duty—the one owed, the other enforced—and the strain of secrecy, provide a problem too great for his mind, baffled as it is at the same time by the many other conflicts which appear to him to make up the adult world. Here he finds only manifestations of hostility, either to himself or to society, or loyalties which are irreconcilable. The Christmas dinner and the pursuit of the convicts on the marshes embodies these themes, and at the end of chapter six the action has resolved itself, as far as Pip is concerned, in two betrayals: of the Gargery household by theft; and, by keeping his knowledge secret, of Joe's confidence and with it a rejection of his protection. These are the problems with which the young Pip must struggle for many years.

III

The next narrative sequence, which culminates in Pip's being bound apprentice to Joe, is characterised by its atmosphere of frustration and imprisonment which are allied throughout with decay and death. Miss Havisham is voluntarily imprisoned in Satis House, and this, like that of the two convicts, is shown to Pip to be closely bound up with bitter, personal hatred. This woman has renounced the world because it is cruel, because it has made her suffer. Nevertheless she rears Estella and seeks out Pip, because only in childhood can she find the innocence and imaginative purity which are essential to life. Her own childhood is beyond her reach, because knowledge has come too late. It is only when this kind of knowledge comes to Pip, through the suffering of pride and love, that he too finds truth in the innocence of childhood, and for him it is not too late.

At this stage, however, Pip is also a prisoner. As a boy in the forge he is remote from the outside world, and especially is he shut away from the world of Estella. This situation breeds in him a desire for freedom from the inherited bondage of commonness. Ironically the event (meeting Estella) which arouses such a desire, is the instrument which commits him to a firmer bondage, since Miss Havisham rewards him for his services by having him " bound " apprentice to Joe for a term of years. The contract is entered into in chapter twelve in an atmosphere of derision, scorn and oppressed criminality.

This atmosphere may be expressed in one word—Law. Pip's instinctive feelings of justice are hostile to Law (" I hope, Joe, we shan't find them," he says when the soldiers pursue the convicts). Law is the complementary association of crime and guilt, which are always to remain close to him, and it is a motif which further associates Pip with Magwitch. He never disguises his feelings, now loathing, now contempt, now fear, for its emissaries, institutions and procedure. Even Wemmick is human only at Walworth, and Jaggers at home in contact with the redeemed Molly.

IV

Pip now progresses from boyhood and persecution to early manhood and revolt, and it is at this stage that he begins to despise Joe. The breach of faith makes him unhappy, and it is natural that he should compare his state of dejection to the grim solitude of the marshes:

" I used to stand about the churchyard on Sunday evenings, when night was falling, comparing my own perspective with the windy marsh view, and making out some likeness between them by thinking how flat and low both were, and how on both there came an unknown way and a dark mist and then the sea " (Ch. XIV).

This is a prophetic passage, and in it Pip, in identifying himself with all that has hitherto appeared threatening to him, unconsciously discovers that he is his own enemy. This failure in Pip is deliberately emphasised through the playreading to which he is subjected by Wopsle and Pumblechook. Dickens, in his

usual way, gives the incident a comic gloss, but the true significance of *George Barnwell* in this context lies in its emphasis on certain patterns of behaviour and attitudes which Pip has already recognised as bearing closely upon his own character.

Barnwell is a youth employed by an honest merchant, Thorowgood (Joe's equivalent) and has a friend, Trueman (another aspect of Joe) whom he betrays for the love of a scheming woman (Havisham—Estella) to the grief of the faithful Maria (Biddy) who genuinely loves him. He is driven to embezzlement and finally to the murder of his benefactor, for which he is ultimately hanged.

That Pip would end badly had been impressed on him from early childhood, but, coming at a time when he was resolving to cut adrift from Joe, the play contains some remarks that would bite deep:

" To guilty love, as if that were too little, already have I added breach of trust." (II, i.)

" Breach of friendship was my first and least offence." (V, ii.)

V

Pip's expectations are announced and he makes the five-hour journey to London, thereby crossing a breach between two distinct worlds, in both of which he must learn to live, though he sees happiness immediately only in the rejection of one. The introduction of new figures at this point restates and further develops the theme of the novel. Pip's secrets have hitherto been played out on the edge of two worlds, the criminal and the fantastic. Here the world of Jaggers replaces the first, the dualism of Wemmick the second.

Though he is no longer bound to Joe and the forge, Pip is still dependent for his freedom entirely upon Jaggers, in which circumstance he is in some measure identified with the shadowy figures of the world of misery, poverty and crime: " the two secret men ", " the crying woman ", the little, red-eyed, excitable Jew.

The most interesting and important of Pip's London acquaintances is Wemmick. The dichotomy of his private and professional capacities links him with Miss Havisham, whose part in the pattern of Pip's life he assumes when the scene shifts to London. He too lives his fantasy life at Walworth, with his escapist dreams, haunted as he is by so many betrayals, pent up with so many secrets, hung about with so many mementoes of clients who were found guilty. All this is hidden behind his mask, the post-office face. At Walworth, he surrounds himself with all the emblems of siege in the small " fortress ", where finally his rôle in Pip's destiny is established symbolically with the " battery " and the ritual firing of the gun.

Jaggers also lives two lives, but he has reconciled them, not shut one from the other. Molly, his housekeeper, is the symbol of their union. She is the symbol of many things, but especially, since she is Estella's mother, of the fact that Pip can never really escape, can never break the bonds which join him to convicts.

Marriage with Estella is the only satisfactory conclusion to such a state of affairs.

During his stay in London one sees only that Pip has sacrificed the child's complex lucidity of outlook for the selfish youth's complex vulgarity. Some remorse for those he has forsaken he does feel, but it is a sickly phantom of true repentance, and vanishes at the thought of Estella.

VI

Pip's love for Estella is instinctive and absolute. " I did not, even that romantic morning, invest her with any attributes save those she possessed. I mention this in this place, of a fixed purpose, because it is the clue by which I am to be followed into my poor labyrinth." (Ch. XXIX.)

This is one more link in the chain of evidence which justifies his final union with Estella. Far from being a sop to the public, the union is inevitable. Pip cannot be freed; he cannot even, when his convict is dead, his benefactor revealed, his money lost, be allowed to strike through the tie which secures him to that other world about which his entire life has centred.

The central emphasis on the impossibility of his ever altering the form of his true destiny is laid on his meeting with Estella in chapter thirty-two. He is to escort her to Richmond, and waits for her by the coach office, which is near Newgate and Jaggers's office.

Wemmick meets him, and his greeting is unwittingly ironic: " I should hardly have thought this was *your* beat," after which he conducts Pip on a tour of the prison.

Before Estella's arrival Pip " consumed the whole time in thinking how strange it was that I should be encompassed by all this taint of prison and crime; that, in my childhood out on our lonely marshes on a winter evening I should have first encountered it; that it should have reappeared on two occasions, starting out like a stain that was faded but not gone ; that, it should in this new way pervade my fortune and advancement. While my mind was thus engaged, I thought of the beautiful young Estella, proud and refined, coming toward me, and I thought with absolute abhorrence of the contrast between the jail and her."

The fear of old associations, the pressure of guilt upon his mind, take an ironical twist at their meeting. Estella sums up the whole movement of the novel when she remarks: " We have no choice, you and I, but to obey our instructions. We are not free to follow our own devices, you and I."

Later, Pip reacts to a careless remark of Estella: " You speak of yourself," he says, " as if you were someone else." He speaks, not for the first time, truer than he knows. Estella *is* someone else, and continues to provide the accompaniment to this period of unhappiness and indecision, of debt, betrayal and remorse in Pip's life. But the unhappiness is another turning in the labyrinth, since it leads Pip a little further towards an understanding of his love: " O the many, many nights and days through which the unquiet spirit within me haunted that house when Estella lived there ! Let my body be where it would, my spirit was always wandering,

wandering, wandering about that house." (Ch. XXXVIII.) It is this spiritual reaching out towards Estella which Pip is beginning to realise as the impulse of his destined love.

VII

Irony, again, marks the return of Magwitch. " Keep off ! " says Pip. " If you are grateful to me for what I did when I was a little child, I hope you have shown your gratitude by mending your way of life . . . But our ways are different ways." (Ch. XXXIX).

This last remark is the central irony. It involves the notion that their ways are in fact the same, and that all which concerns each is bound by the same link, a link which, even when the convict is dead and their rôles in part reversed in Pip's having returned home from abroad, finally binds Pip to Estella. Fearful reflections enter Pip's mind: " Why should I pause to ask how much of my shrinking from Provis might be traced to Estella ? Why should I loiter on my road, to compare the state of mind in which I had tried to rid myself of the stain of the prison before meeting her at the coach-office, with the state of mind in which I now reflected on the abyss between Estella in her pride and beauty, and the returned transport whom I harboured ? The road would be none the smoother for it, the end would be none the better for it; he would not be helped, nor I extenuated." (Ch. XLIII.)

Once more Pip is unable to recognise the trend of these suggestions, yet when, a little later, he meets Estella, he is told of her engagement to Drummle, and he knits into one impassioned protest the fundamental patterns of his own character and of the world from which Estella, the true Estella, has sprung: " You are part of my existence, part of myself. You have been in every line I have ever read, since I first came here, the rough common boy whose poor heart you wounded even then. You have been in every prospect I have ever seen since—on the river, on the sails of the ships, on the marshes, in the clouds, in the light, in the darkness, in the wind, in the woods, in the sea, in the streets. You have been the embodiment of every graceful fancy that my mind has ever become acquainted with. The stones of which the strongest London buildings are made, are not more real, or more impossible to be displaced by your hands, than your presence and influence have been to me, there and everywhere, and will be. Estella, to the last hour of my life, you cannot choose but remain part of my character, part of the little good in me, part of the evil." (Ch. XLIV.)

This is much more than a declaration of love and disappointment; it is a manifesto of destiny, whose truth the rest of the novel is to prove. It is interesting to notice the repetition of Estella's own words (" We have no choice, you and I ") in " You cannot choose but remain part of my character," which, with other recollective images reinforces the idea of a determined course of life, to which both are bound.

VIII

Pip's true education bears fruit with his confession to Miss Havisham of his own unworthiness, and of his later confession to

himself concerning Magwitch: " I only saw in him a much better man than I had been to Joe."

There is evidence enough now of his deeper recognition of his circumstances and his destiny; the nature of his own identity in its relationships to the inexorable forms of the outside world which he had dimly perceived sixteen years earlier. He achieves, in fact, a reconciliation in his life which Wemmick and Jaggers before him had effected, and in which Miss Havisham had failed. Perhaps the words of Reilly, in Mr. Eliot's *The Cocktail Party*, best indicate what Pip has achieved:

> " You will have to live with these memories and make them
> Into something new. Only by acceptance
> Of the past will you alter its meaning."

The last stage, for Pip, is recognition of this belief. He returns, through sickness and delirium, to dreams of the past, to dependence on Joe, and recognises, as the beginning of the new life, the validity of childhood in the adult life. He pleads with Biddy: " If you can receive me like a forgiven child (and indeed I am as sorry, Biddy, and have as much need of a hushing voice and a soothing hand) . . . " and is accepted. Finally, to point the change, comes the echo of his first parting, alone, from the forge, where now the true Pip says: " Go with me as far as the finger-post, dear Joe and Biddy, before we say goodbye ! "

IX

Now, in a sense, Pip is free. He gradually pays off his debts and, only four months after joining Herbert Pocket abroad in the firm of Clarriker and Co., he assumes his " first undivided responsibility."

This freedom Pip has achieved through his own maturity and self-knowledge. But self-knowledge does not simply, by its reconciliation or acceptance of inner conflicts, confer freedom either from these conflicts or from the burdens imposed by individual character. It is a recognition of the imperatives of a particular human nature, not a dissolution of them. Thus Pip's freedom is dependent partly on the paradox that he can never be free. " I have forgotten nothing in my life that ever had a foremost place there, and little that ever had any place there," he says to Biddy on his return after eleven years abroad. He knows now the tradition of his own character which even this period cannot alter or make obscure. And Estella is the essence of all the joy and grief latent within him; she is the child of criminals, the ward of bitterness and cruelty, matured through suffering, to which Pip is drawn still by fear and desire.

Thus the union with Estella is not a simple affair of happiness or unhappiness; nor would a parting from her be. Such a conclusion would be irrelevant as well as invalid; it would, on the evidence of both lives, be impossible. There is as much grief potential in such a union as there would be in separation, but to feel this one must approach *Great Expectations* not as a social document, but as a novel, an essay in humanity.

RAPPING THE RAPPERS
MORE GRIST FOR THE BIOGRAPHERS' MILL

By N. C. Peyrouton

SUCH was the scope and variety of Dickens's interests and activities that there remain still, nearly ninety years after his death, rich veins of *materia biographia* to be reclaimed and evaluated. The story of the hot and cold, public and private wars that he waged against the Rappers[1] is an example of what awaits the indefatigable Dickens student-researcher.

The struggle with the Spiritualists was essentially three phased. The first phase, 1852-1859, concurrent with Dickens's editorship of *Household Words*, was touched off by an exposé in that periodical of the American medium, Mrs. W. R. Hayden, newly arrived in England to evangelise for "modern spiritualism"[2] Defending Mrs. Hayden, and Dickens's principal antagonist was *The Spiritual Telegraph*. (Published in New York, it was one of the most popular and influential of the pioneer spiritualist journals.) The second phase, 1859-1870, concurrent with Dickens's editorship of *All The Year Round*, was largely restricted to the domestic arena, where Dickens was alternately whipped and wooed by the newly founded London organ, *The Spiritual Magazine*. The third or posthumous phase, 1870-1878, marked a return to the Anglo-American theatre to witness the appropriation of Dickens as champion-witness of mediumship.

Prerequisite to the telling of the story of this struggle must be an examination of Dickens's virtuosity in what Edgar Johnson has succinctly described "unorthodox knowledge." Although we do not know exactly when Dickens first became interested in occult metaphysics, there is no evidence that such interest antedated the beginning of his friendship with Dr. Elliotson.[3].

John Elliotson (1791-1868), a member of the Royal Society of Physicians, and a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons (1824) had received his M.D. at Cambridge; when Dickens met him he was already established as an eminent member of his profession with years of experience at St. Thomas's and Guy's Hospitals. He had helped to found the University College Hospital and had occupied a chair as its Professor of the Practice of Medicine and Clinical Medicine until 1838. (His resignation that year was occasioned by his persistence in espousing and practising mesmerism). The author of several medical treatises of an orthodox character, he is more famous for his editorship of *Zoist* (1843-1856), and his work as a Founder and President of the Phrenological Society.

1 An epithet given currency by Victorian critics who alleged the raps or knocks the spiritualists claimed were produced by disembodied spirits were, in fact, produced by the medium himself.

2 The author-medium, Emma Hardinge Britten, *Nineteenth Century Miracles*, etc. (Manchester and London, n.d.), p. 128, recalls "that these curious evidences, clairvoyance, rappings, table turning, etc., of an unknown force had any connection with the agency of "disembodied spirits" never seemed to enter the imagination of "table turnings" *experts* until the arrival in England of Mrs. Hayden, who very shortly after the advent of the "Rochester Knockings" in New York State . . . found herself the subject of rappings.

3 Their friendship probably dates from 1838. According to Harley Williams, *Doctors Differ* (Springfield, Illinois, 1952), p. 37, Boz came over from Doughty Street while writing *Nicholas Nickleby* to see and hear him in the Medical Lecture Theatre of the University College Hospital. Elliotson remains very much a man of mystery: there is no full length biography—the account cited above deals almost exclusively with the Hospital work and controversy. In his own lifetime (1859) Elliotson "declined to reply with a circular request for information from the compilers of *The London and Provincial Medical Directory and General Medical Register*.

It was at Elliotson's that Boz made the acquaintance of that eccentric dabbler in the occult, the Rev. Chauncey Hare Townshend.[1]

Dickens was intrigued by the Doctor and his powers. Prior to his first visit to America the young author must have spent much time in apprenticeship to Elliotson for more than once during this trip he successfully mesmerised his wife. While abroad Dickens corresponded with a Boston mesmerist[2] and was pleaded with, but in vain, to join a magic circle.[3] Anxious to keep out of the way of charlatans, the enthusiast was not unwilling to co-operate with serious investigators and submitted on February 5th, 1842, to a phrenological examination by an L. N. Fowler Worcester, Massachusetts.[4]

During the 'forties Boz must have become well read in "unorthodox knowledge." There were several occult titles to be found in his library at Gad's Hill[5]—many of these may have been read, if not actually acquired, before 1850.

In these years Dickens experienced first hand the power of mind over matter. Before 1850 he had twice through his own mesmeric powers effected cures of friends[6] when conventional medicine had failed. In these years, too, he had acquired a near professional mastery of the legerdemainic arts.[7] By 1852 Dickens knew something of nearly every contemporary variety of white magic. He had come to know how easily even the most sceptical could be convinced and the most critical taken in. Although his experience and study had convinced him that all the seemingly supernatural had rational scientific explanations that ultimately would be discovered, he, like the proverbial Missouri sceptic, had to be shown.

The First Phase

Editor Dickens scarcely allowed Mrs. Hayden, her husband,[8] and their business agent[9] time to set up an establishment at No. 26 Upper Seymour Street, Portman Square,[10] before he set down on

[1] Author of *Facts in Mesmerism* (1840) and a supplement to Lang's *Animal Magnetism* (1844) a contributor to *Household Words* and a friend of Dickens who served as his literary executor.

[2] William Glyde Wilkins, *Charles Dickens in America* (New York, 1911), p. 16.

[3] Edgar Johnson, *Charles Dickens, His Tragedy and Triumph*, 2 vols. (New York, 1952), Vol. I., p. 409.

[4] In the collection of the American Antiquarian Society (Worcester, Mass.) I am indebted to Mrs. Madeline House for calling my attention to this item.

[5] *Catalogue of the Library of Charles Dickens* etc. ed. J. H Stonehouse (London 1935) *passim*.

[6] Madame de la Rue in 1846; John Leech in 1849.

[7] First (?) demonstrated at Tavistock House, Twelfth Night, 1843.

[8] William Richardson Hayden (1820-1903) began his career as an actor, became editor of an unsuccessful dramatic paper and was supernumerary and prop man at the old National Theatre in Boston when Miss Davenport, the original of the Infant Phenomenon, was there. A widower, he married Maria B. Trenholm (1823-1884) of Falmouth, Mass., in 1850. Prior to their return visit to England he was editor of *The Star-Spangled Banner*. Upon their return he was elected a member of the State Central Committee by the Convention of Massachusetts Spiritualists. By 1857 he was established as a Physician and Medical Mesmerist with his wife as Rapping, Writing and Test Medium at 5 Hayward Place. In 1859 Mrs. Hayden was employed in New York as a medium by S. T. Munson of 5 Great Jones Street, but in 1860 was reunited with her husband at 64 East 22nd Street where they operated a kind of convalescent home. In 1866 Mrs. Hayden acquired an M.D. and became a member of the New York Board of Medical Censors. In 1867 the Haydens moved to Bedford, Mass., where they founded the New York Pharmaceutical Company on a country estate which, in addition to three laboratories, had a summer hotel (est. 1874), three medicinal springs, a large artificial lake, its own railroad station and post office. Among Hayden's American acquaintances were William Lloyd Garrison, Horace Greely, and Theodore Parker. Ref: *The Spiritual Telegraph*, Vol. V.; unpublished records, State House, Boston; Abram English Brown, *History of the Town of Bedford*, etc.; various issues, *The Banner of Light*, 1857-1861.

[9] *The Encyclopedia of Psychic Science* (London, 1933), ed. Nandor Fedor indentifies him as a man named Stone who lectured on Electro-biology "the art of enducing hypnotism by gazing at metallic discs."

[10] By February 1853 they had moved to 22 Queen Anne Street, near Cavendish Square.

their doorstep two of his *friends*, Brown and Thompson[1] to investigate. An account of their visit, *Rappers, or The Ghost of the Cock-Lane Ghost*, appeared in No. 139 of *Household Words* on November 20th, 1852. After reviewing the history of the Fox Sisters (the original rappers) the writer(s) pointed out analogies between Mrs. Hayden's techniques, as revealed during their own sittings, and those of previously proven fraudulent demonstrators. The article concluded with a denial of a spirit origin for the rappings made in response to the medium's questions. Although

William Richardson Hayden

this piece was not by Dickens[2] he did have a part in shaping it. To Assist Editor W. H. Wills he wrote from Tavistock House:

Friday, Fifth November, 1852.

> . . . In the matter of the rappings, I think a good name for the paper would be the Ghost of the Cock Lane Ghost. If Morley looks to that precious business, in the Annual Register, he will find (if I understand your account) that the two spirits are greatly alike. I was thinking that Spirits Far Above Proof would be a good title. But it is a great thing in such a case to show the imposition is an old and exploded one.[3]

For their part, the Haydens persisted in circulating the lie that Dickens was the author and had himself attended the séance; we can scarcely put any other construction upon their story, for the face of Charles Dickens was as well known as that of Queen

[1] The pseudonyms used by Henry Morley, staff reporter for *Household Words*, and W. H. Wills, its sub-editor.
[2] The H. W. *Contributors Book* lists Morley as the author.
[3] *Nonesuch Letters*, Vol. II, p. 427.

Victoria and neither "Brown" nor "Thompson" could have been mistaken for him. Finally, Dickens was impelled to deny publicly the allegation in a *Household Word* "chip":

THE GHOST OF THE COCK LANE GHOST WRONG AGAIN

The exhibitor of the spirit-rapping at the small charge of one guinea per head, or five guineas for a party of ten; the Mr. Stone who "begs leave to inform the nobility and gentry that he has just returned from the United States, accompanied by Mrs. M. B. Hayden, for the purpose of Demonstrating the wonderful Phenomena known in that country as Spiritual Manifestations, and which have created the most intense excitement among all classes of society,"—as described at page 217 of our present volume—has been exhibiting Electro-Biology in London to certain dismal little audiences; and has attempted to enliven the very dreary performances by pressing the name of MR. CHARLES DICKENS into his service, and delivering himself of accounts of a personal interview held by himself and his Medium with that gentleman at the house in Upper Seymour Street, Portman Square, where all classes of society are intensely excited every day at from eleven to two, and from four to six.

As a further warning to the gullible who may be disposed to put their trust in this exhibitor's "facts," we may inform them that he, and his Medium, with their troops of spirits and their electro-biological penetration to boot, are as wide of the truth in this as in everything else. Mr. Dickens was never at the intensely exciting house and never beheld any of its intensely exciting inhabitants. Two trustworthy gentlemen attached to this Journal tested the spirit rappers at his request, and found them to be the egregious absurdity described.[1]

It is significant that the Rappers in the United States were enjoying no greater success with the second novelist of England, William Makepeace Thackeray, Titmarsh echoed Boz:

Yes, I have seen the Rappers . . . They try to guess at something, and hit or miss as may be. 1000 misses for one hit—It is a most dreary & foolish superstition. I dodged the Spirit by asking questions in Latin & German. Dic mihi says I O Spiritus nomen carisme anne valet, anne viva anne mortua? The Spirit after a while told me its own name was *Carrisima*—then that its name was Anna Maria Makepeace my dear Aunt—only I never had one, and so on. (Somebody calls or points to the Alphabet and the right letter is indicated by knocks)—What pained me was to see kind good people believing—to find what folly satisfied them what childish ideas of God they have. They call for their relations and Franklin and Washington, and that sort of thing.[2]

In May 1853 the Haydens published their version of the circumstances of the Brown and Thompson séance in the first (and only) issue of their own periodical, *The Spirit World*. Mr. Hayden quotes from a letter of 'Z Devonport, March 24th, 1853,'

[1] No. 147, January 15, 1853, p. 420.
[2] *The Letters and Private Papers of W. M. Thackeray* (Cambridge, Mass., 1946), ed. Gordon N. Ray, 4 vols., vol. III, (from a letter to Mrs. Elliot and Kate Perry—1 December 1852), p. 134.

originally printed in 'The Leader of Saturday, April 23rd, 1853,' which is both interesting and amusing:

> . . . I will now give you what took place during a second séance I had in November last just after the publication of the article in Dickens's *Household Words*, entitled " The Ghost of the Cock-lane Ghost." I called with a friend in the afternoon, but found that Mrs. Hayden was engaged to go to a séance, and it was agreed that after her return I should put myself in communication. During her absence, Dickens's article and its result was canvassed. Mr. Stone informed us he had written to the editor, admitting he, the editor, had received unsatisfactory replies, but complaining of the haste to which he had jumped to a conclusion, and of the inference he drew that Mrs. Hayden was deserving of the treadmill. Mr. Stone called on the writer of the article, in the name of the British public, whose laws were violated if he could prove his case, to appoint a meeting anywhere, and composed of various parties, to test the matter. I was informed that no notice was taken of this challenge.

The correspondent, further on in his letter, describes what took place at his séance at 7 p.m. that same date:

> . . . I had the pencil in my hand and wrote down the following: " I do not wish you to trouble yourself about Dickens. It was a plan of ours to help you in this mighty work. Pay no heed to him, we will work out our salvation, and all believers in this field shall be duly rewarded. We have promised and we will perform. Falter not, my friends, God and Angels protect and watch over you." I said please give us your signature. 'Benjamin Franklin, November 21st, Sunday ' was distinctly rapped.

Although there is no reference to the Haydens in any of the Dickens's letters that we have seen, one presumes that he had private correspondence with other anti-Rappers about them. Most probably he realised that it was a part of their plan to milk him and *Household Words* for all the free publicity that he must give them if he continued in a public controversy and, therefore, decided to let matters rest.

But despite, or because of, the exposé a steady stream of notables were attracted to the Hayden séances. Mr. John Malcolm of Clifton, reported that he attended one of the early séances with Mrs. Catherine Crowe and met there Mrs. Milner Gibson, Mr. Colley Gratton, Mr. Robert Chambers, Dr. Daniels, and Dr. Samuel Dickson.[1] Sir David Brewster and Monckton Milnes were assured by Mr. Galla, the African Traveller, that Mrs. Hayden had told him of persons and places in Africa which nobody but himself knew. Exasperated, the scientist Sir David, could only exclaim: " The world is obviously going mad."[2]

Still the craze spread. The butchers, the bakers, the candlestick makers, even the nobility, were represented among her devotees. The new Duke and the Duchess of Wellington and the Duke of Argyll testified to " the intelligent spiritual nature " of the communications.[3]

[1] Arthur Conan Doyle, *The History of Spiritualism* (London, 1926) p. 162.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 167.
[3] *The Spiritual Telegraph* (New York, 1854) ed. S. B. Brittan, Vol. III, p. 130.

But Dickens and *Household Words* were not alone in the field against Mrs. Hayden. Within three months of the appearance of *The Rappers* G. H. Lewes of *The Leader*, Douglas Jerrold of *Lloyd's Weekly*, Mrs. Oliver with *Toeology*, *Blackwood's*, *The National Miscellany*, and many more with several arguments and approaches had joined the attack.

This opposition made to rise the ire of the quixotic Dr. Ashburner, a colleague of Elliotson,[1] who had attended Hayden séances. John Ashburner (1793-1878) was a physician of experience and skill who after his receiving his M.D. from Edinburgh in 1816 had been associated from time to time with most of the great hospitals in London. A lecturer of the Royal College of Physicians, he was a member of a number of professional societies and the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Conspicuous among his many writings was a *Preface and Notes to Reichenbach's Researches on the Dynamics of Magnetism*. Now he advanced himself as a chivalrous defender of the young American medium. To the Editor of *The Leader* from York Place on 14th March 1853, he wrote:

> . . . Sex ought to have protected her from injury if you *gentlemen* of the press have no regard to the hospitable feelings due to one of your own cloth, for Mrs. Hayden is the wife of a former editor and proprietor of a journal in Boston, having a most extensive circulation in New England. I declare to you that Mrs. Hayden is no imposter, and he who has the daring to come to an opposite conclusion must do so at the peril of his character for truth. I defy Mr. Lewes or any one else to prove the acts of imposition or fraud in the phenomena that require the presence of such a medium as Mrs. Hayden for their development.[2]

With the conversion of Elliotson's colleague Mr. Hayden may have felt that the tide had turned for he announced (rather prematurely):

> . . . Already have quite a number of the first families taken the trouble to investigate the phenomena; I will simply name a few of them: the Earl of Eglinton and the Countess, Lord and Lady Naars, the Marchioness of Stafford, Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, Mrs. Crowe, Miss Anna Blackwell, Dr. Elliotson, Dr. Ashburner, and many others, who have expressed great satisfaction, and a full belief in its truth and reality.
>
> Dr. Elliotson is the editor of the *Zoist*. He, as also Dr. Ashburner, are greatly interested, and have received extraordinary proofs.[3]

Sometime in March (?) Elliotson had seen and heard the medium at the invitation of Mrs. Milner Gibson[4] at whose home he was a frequent guest. Hayden testified that Elliotson attended incognito and that his true identity was inadvertently revealed near the

[1] Despite Elliotson's denial that Ashburner "was in any way connected with *The Zoist*. He communicated a few articles with his name: but that is all. It would not be as correct to speak of his known connections with *The Leader*" their names were inevitably linked as mesmeric heretics. They had worked together at the Memeric Infirmary which Elliotson found in 1849. Shortly after his conversion Ashburner become a writing medium.

[2] Emma Hardinge Britten, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

[3] *The Spiritual Telegraph*, Vol. I. (from a letter of W. R. Hayden to the Editor, 4 February, 1853), p. 19.

[4] Ne Susanna Arelthusa Cullam (1844-1885), wife of Thomas Milner Gibson (1806-1884), M.P., Radical Whig statesman. Mrs. Gibson was a society leader and maintained a salon which attracted every kind of celebrity. She and her husband were close friends of Dickens. Successively she was a convert to Mesmerism, Spiritualism and Roman Catholicism.

close of the séance. He further alleged that the doctor had expressed belief in the phenomena and was invited to continue his investigation at the Hayden residence.[1]

If we can credit Hayden's statements he had good reason to believe that if Dr. Elliotson did bring in *The Zoist* it would be to support, not to attack, his wife. He must have been furious when he read the article by N.E.E.N. in the April *Zoist*. He recognized that the influential Dean of the Mesmerists had dealt the most

John Elliotson

Courtesy : Royal Society of Medicine

serious blow to date. As usual, *The Spiritual Telegraph* served as the Hayden mouthpiece:

> . . . At last the storm came, and burst upon us in all its relentless fury, and the *Zoist* poured forth its volumes of fire and smoke (more smoke than anything else). The hero of a thousand hard-fought battles in the cause of mesmerism and materialism —the redoubtable Dr. John Elliotson, whose organ of self-esteem, to use the words of a learned phrenologist, is *twice* seven or larger than any other professional man in England— this person, evidently piqued that he had not been the first called upon in this country to investigate the phenomena, determined to be revenged for the fancied slight . . .[2]

Elliotson, drawing from his own experiences and those of his

[1] *The Spitual Telegraph*, Vol. I (from a letter of W. R. Hayden to the Editor, 10 June 1853), p. 369.
[2] *Ibid*, pp. 368-369.

investigators,[1] described and illustrated the various means by which the medium might have reproduced the raps without being detected. He questioned Mrs. Hayden's motivation as well as that of her spirits:

> . . . One cannot believe that they can be called up from the abodes of bliss, where God has placed them, or from any abodes, at the pleasure of a public exhibitor, making money of them whenever the audience will collect and pay. The idea is outrageous and revolting.
>
> A "Medium" tells her audiences that she has come to England because " the spirits " would give her no rest until she had made them known in England. According to her own account, she wishes to make no profit by the expedition; but merely to clear her expenses: and for this purpose she allows the spirits to manifest themselves in England at a guinea for individual examinations or half a guinea each for a party, though brought over by a man, who engages her in speculation as Tom Thumb or the Wonderful Pig or the Industrious Fleas were engaged for the season by a speculator. She cannot have made less than two or three hundred pounds, and ought therefore no longer to make such charges as rich people only can afford to pay; but if her object is to publish a great truth, a great *spiritual truth*, should, in fulfilment of her mission, admit the more numerous and humble classes at a low rate, or without money and without price, to witness their next revelations.[2]

Hayden devoted the whole of the front page of *The Spirit World* to answer and refute N.E.E.N. of the *Zoist*. He stated his belief that the article was of plural authorship. (Was he thinking of Dickens as co-author ?) He asked why the article had not been signed. Elliotson, willing to oblige Hayden, renewed his attack in the July *Zoist* in a signed article.

Those who took the middle ground and were critical of Rappers and anti-Rappers alike did not escape unscathed. Mr. Henry Spicer, author of *Sights and Sounds*, who had replied to Mrs. Hayden's detractors in the *Critic* was condemned by the Rappers because he had not done Mrs. Hayden " justice " and was " afraid of ridicule."[3]

But certainly, *The Spiritual Telegraph* did do Mrs. Hayden " justice " and something more. They published Hayden's letters and gave the medium their editorial support. Even after the Haydens had returned to America they continued to feature the English adventure. (This interest is not surprising when one has read an article entitled *The Spirit Business* in the May 7th issue of *Household Words*. The writer *reviewed* two issues of *The Spiritual Telegraph*; Mr. Partridge, co-publisher with Brittan of that paper,

[1] Elliotson had suggested that mediums, while employing slieght of hand to distract the sitter, might produce the raps with foot against the floor or table leg. Hayden accused him of suppressing the fact that Mrs. Hayden's feet had been held during a seance attended by one of the doctor's friends. (*The Spirit World*, p. 1). He reminded his critics that two gentlemen whom Dr. Elliotson sent to Mrs. Hayden to discover the *trick*, have not *only* become believers, but mediums. One of the parties is well known as author of a work on North America and as a civil engineer of eminence, formerly holding an important commission under the British Government. *The Spiritual Telegraph*, Vol. II (from a letter of W. R. Hayden to the Editor, 23 September 1853), p. 467.

[2] *The Zoist, A Journal of Cerebral Physiology and Mesmerism, and their applications to Human Welfare*, Vol. XI, No. xli, April 1853; *Spirit Rappings*, p. 87.

[3] *The Spiritual Telegraph*, Vol. I, p. 94.

was not spared.) One impassioned piece, reputedly from an "intelligent gentleman recently returned from England," after abusing the medium's critics concludes with an eulogy:

> . . . The objects which Mr. Dickens, and Mr. Lewes, of *The Leader*, proposed to themselves, were completely defeated by the excess of their zeal. The house of the Medium became thronged with visitors, and some of the highest names in England, both in hereditary and acquired rank, were to be found inscribed in the call-book of the daughter of a humble American farmer . . . let me say a few words respecting Mrs. Hayden herself. Young, intelligent, but at the same time simple and candid in her manners, no one could have been more admirably adapted than this lady for the difficult and invidious task which she had undertaken. She disarmed suspicion by the unaffected artlessness of her address, and many who came to amuse themselves at her expense, were shamed into respect and even cordiality by the patience and good temper which she displayed. The impression invariably left by an interview with her was, that if, as Mr. Dickens contended, the phenomena developed by her were attributable to art, she herself was the most perfect artist, as far as acting went, that had ever presented herself before the public.[1]

Yet another correspondent, condemning the books of two parsons who did not endorse the medium, sniped:

> . . . I apprehend that the humblest one among us would with perfect cheerfulness pit himself against a Lowes [sic], Dickens, Elliottson [sic] and a handful of scribbling parsons to make good the weight. From time to time I will keep you advised of the follies and tergiversations of these worthies.[2]

A third correspondent, not content with attacking Lewes and Elliotson, hoped to draw from the reservoir of dislike and distrust of Dickens that his *American Notes*, written a decade before, had built up in many quarters:

> . . . Foremost to lead the van appeared two anonymous persons delegated by the editor of *Household Words*. The object, undoubtedly, was at all cost to get up a funny article. In this they succeeded. A laugh was raised; but as far as regarded the true merits of the question, the paper fell flat on the public ear, and was soon discounted at the same rate as "Notes on America." The least examination convinced anybody that the circumstances of the *séance* could not have taken place as those represented, and that fabrication was a very gentle word to use in reference to that article.[3]

The friends of the Rappers seem to have evolved a conveniently simple and foolproof rule of thumb to determine who was and who was not qualified to judge spiritual phenomena: those who endorsed them were qualified and those who did not were not.

Only one of the correspondents[4] (anticipating the tactics of the next decade of Spiritualists) was at all conciliatory. She noted,

1 *The Spiritual Telegraph*, Vol. I, pp. 92-93.
2 *The Spiritual Telegraph*, Vol. III, pp.132-133.
3 *Ibid*, pp. 123-124.
4 M. E. Kendall—listed in contemporary directories as a cloakmaker living at 9 Allston Street, South Boston.

quoting an innocuous passage about the spirit of the dead reprinted in *Gleason's Pictorial Drawing-room Companion*, that there were evidences in Dickens's published works of a sympathy with Spiritualism:

> . . . Mr. Dickens has indeed taken the first step, and let us not despair, for he may yet prove to be one of the noblest champions of our cause. But first let him not reject the media, or pour out his invective against the Spirits; then investigate the subject thoroughly. If he think it humbug after he has had evidence which should convince any man, then let him keep away from, and cease abusing it . . .[1]

But Dickens had investigated a part of the subject and had found humbug. In a letter of 23rd May 1853 he confided to John Leech:

> . . . We spun a table in the most extraordinary manner last night, Mamey, Katey, their governess, I, Catherine, Georgina, " Mon cher Régnier " et Madame Régnier. The Pinhole table in the study gamboled like an insane elephant (with a prodigant creaking) all round the room ! ! ! . . .[2]

Sometime between June 10th and September 14th the Haydens had extended their field of operation to France and to Ireland, but Mrs Hayden was not very well received. Hayden, who had at first shrugged off Dickens's attack as ineffectual confessed that ' the stupid and silly article which appeared in Dickens's *Household Words* almost a year since, has done much to set their minds against it.'[3] Business had also dropped off in England. The pace that had brought in six to seven hundred sitters from October to May[4] could not be maintained. By the end of September Hayden decided that he and his wife " would take passage on board the *City of Manchester* on the 12th [of October] from Liverpool for Philadelphia and from there proceed at once to Boston.[5]

Hayden had announced plans to return in March of 1854[6] but as April succeeded March, May succeeded April, June succeeded May and so on into August, it became apparent that a London correspondent who had been concerned lest the delay " gave occasion to those little irritable wasps was to say that they had driven her off by their venomous stings " had prophesied truly when he wrote to the Editor:

> . . . It is almost too much to hope, after the foul-mouthed and emphatically blackguard manner in which she was treated here, that this lady will ever return . . . The friends of Mrs Hayden desire to be presented to her in the kindest manner, and long to see her back to the utter confusion of doctors, detectives, and dunces.[7]

Mrs. Hayden had made some permanent converts among the notables: Charles de Morgan, mathematician and philosopher;

[1] *The Spiritual Telegraph*, Vol. II (from a letter of M. E. Kendall to the Editor, 23 August 1853), pp. 289-290.
[2] *Nonesuch Letters*, Vol. II, p. 463.
[3] *The Spiritual Telegraph*, Vol II (from a letter of W. R. Hayden to Partridge & Brittan, the publishers), 403.
[4] *The Spirit World*, , p. 8.
[5] *The Spiritual Telegraph*, Vol. II, p. 514.
[6] *Idem.*
[7] *The Spiritual Telegraph*, Vol. VI, pp. 183-185.

Robert Chambers (brother-in-law of W. H. Wills), author, publisher; and Robert Owen, veteran social reformer who had met her first during his tour of Brook Farm and the Hopedale Community.[1]

These disciples would have agreed with Sir Charles Isham, who, having become a writing medium, could speak with authority when he warned the Editor of *The Leader* that Mrs. Hayden "having a delicate and sensitive mind, any insults directed against her, whether personally or through the medium of the press, may be likely to have a tendency to disarrange and interrupt that subtle and mysterious agency so intimately connected with our higher nature."[2] Most of her friends would have cast Lewes and Elliotson in villains' rôles but would surely have reserved for Dickens, who had initiated the war against the Rappers, that of Arch-Villain.

While *Household Words* participated in the public war against the Rappers, its editor kept up the private war in letters to his friends.[3] To Reverend James White, his friend at Bonchurch, he wrote from Tavistock House, March 7th, 1853:

> . . . Mrs. Crowe has gone stark mad—and stark naked—on the spirit rapping imposition. She was found t'other day in the street, clothed only in her chastity, a pocket-handkerchief and a visiting card. She had been informed, it appeared by the spirits, that if she went out in that trim, she would be invisible. She is now in a madhouse, and, I fear, hopelessly insane.
>
> Buhrer has a thing called a Psycho-grapher, which writes at the dictation of spirits. It delivered itself a few nights ago, of this extraordinarily lucid message:
>
> X. Y. Z.!
>
> upon which it was gravely explained by the true believers that "the spirits were our of temper about something." Said—had a great party on Sunday, when it was rumoured "a count was going to raise the dead." I stayed till the ghostly hour, but the rumour was unfounded, for neither count nor plebian came up to the spiritual scratch. It is really inexplicable to me that a man of his calibre can be run away with by such small deer . . .[4]

On March 9th Dickens wrote substantially the same letter to M. de la Rue, prefacing his remarks about Mrs. Crowe with "The spirit rottenness is fading away, after having done a world of harm, and driven divers and sundry out of their five wits.[5]

For nearly a year there was relative quiet on the Rapper front and it did appear that the Spiritualists had come, had been seen, but had not conquered. Then, in April 1855[6] there appeared a tall, slim young man with slightly irregular but pleasing features and

1 Jean Burton, *Heyday of a Wizard: Daniel Home, the Medium.* (New York, 1944), p. 55.
2 Emma Hardinge Britten, *op. cit.*, p. 130.
3 The two letters from which I quote are surely but a fragment of what must have been an extensive correspondence with such people as Dr. Elliotson, G. H. Lewes, W. M. Thackeray, Douglas Jerrold, Chauncey Hare Townshend, Mrs. Milner Gibson, etc., on the subject.
4 *Nonesuch Letters*, Vol. II, p. 544.
5 *Ibid*, p. 545.
6 *D.N.B., D. D. Home*, p. 1119.

fascinating blue eyes. This was D. D. Home,[1] the most inexplicable of the mediums, who was making a short stop in England *en route* to the Continent. He was received by Mrs. Adolphus Trollope and her son Tom,[2] who were charmed by him, and was investigated by Sir David Brewster[3] who was not. But Dickens was unmoved; in reply to an invitation from Mrs. Trollope for the June 19th he re-stated his position:

> . . . I cannot have the pleasure of seeing the famous "medium" to-night, for I have some theatricals at home. But I fear I shall not in any case be a good subject for the purpose, as I altogether want faith in the thing.
>
> I have not the least belief in the awful unseen world being available for evening parties at so much per night[4]; and although I should be ready to receive enlightenment from any source, I must say I have little hope of it from the spirits who express themselves' through mediums, as I have never yet observed them to talk anything but nonsense, of which (as Carlyle would say), there is probably enough in these days of ours, and in all days, among mere mortality.[5]

Through 1856 and 1857, while successfully avoiding any new embroilment with the Rappers, the editor of *Household Words* did continue to welcome contributions on the subjects of ghosts, spirits, apparitions, and mediums.[6] Some were friendly and good-natured; some were not.

In 1858, the last shot of the first phase, Dickens himself wrote for his periodical a satirical burlesque, *Well Authenticated Rappings*,[7] which purported to be an account of his own sitting and which revealed that he had not softened his attitude. Later that same year he noted with amusement that his old newspaper, *The Daily News*, had taken on a clairvoyant so they might keep up with *The Times*, which had engaged one.[8]

[1] Daniel Dunglas Home (1833-1886) of the family of the Earl of Home, was born in Edinburgh. About 1842 he was taken by his aunt to Greenville, Connecticut, where he became famous for his rappings, and guitar playing without hands. He visited London in 1855, held private séances there and then moved on to the Continent where he held séances before the royalty of France, Prussia and Holland (1867-1858). His wife died in France, where he had taken her to recover her health, in 1862. From 1869-1870 he gave readings throughout England. Author of "Lights and Shadows in Spiritualism"; he was the original of Mr. Sludge, the Medium in Robert Browning's poem of that name.

[2] D. D. Home, *Incidents in My Life, Second Series* (New York. 1872), Vol. I, p. 101.

[3] *Idem.*

[4] It appears that Dickens did not know Home was an amateur—no fee.

[5] *Nonesuch Letters*, Vol. II, p. 673.

[6] The following are representative selections: *New Discovery in Ghosts*, No. 95, January 17th, 1852, *Latest Intelligence from Spirits*, No. 275, June 30th, 1855, both by Henry Morley; *My Ghosts*, No. 360, February 14th, 1857, by Peter Robertson: *Spirits over the water*, No. 428, June 5th, 1858, by James Payn and Dickens's own *Stories for the First of April*, No. 363, March 7th, 1857. (I am indebted to the Contributors Book of *Household Words* for the names of the authors of articles cited above.

[7] *Household Words*, No. 413, February 20th, 1858, pp. 217-220.

[8] *Nonesuch Letters*, Vol. III, p 60.

To be continued

FOR THE DICKENSIAN'S BOOKSHELF

Charles Dickens—A Critical Introduction, by K. J. Fielding. Longman, Green & Co., 15s.

Dr. K. J. Fielding has máde a bold attempt to approach Dickens from a fresh direction by concentrating on his career as an author. Hitherto, biographers have chiefly used his works as illustrations of his private life, while literary critics have used his private life for the light it throws on his works. But Dickens and his books had a public, as well as a private life, and it is the action of the events of the day on the novelist, and the reactions of his first readers to which Dr. Fielding has devoted his study. He is equipped by wide reading in the reviews and journalism of the period, so that he is able to correct many of the sweeping statements made by later critics. G. K. Chesterton and Bernard Shaw, for instance, not only read their own political, religious and social theories into Dickens's books, but ignored the immense differences between the spirit of his age and theirs.

Dr. Fielding brings us back to the eighteen-thirties and forties, when Dickens made his first tremendous impact. He is able to show how shocking *Oliver Twist* appeared, even to such an experienced man of the world as Sir Francis Burdett, and that it was the humanity and benevolence of *Pickwick* which struck a fresh note in humorous literature, and won such universal popularity. There were always, of course, hostile critics who thought Dickens's subject and style " low,"and disapproved of his attacks on established institutions. Literary criticism, as it is now understood, hardly existed in his early years, and novels were judged for their moral and political implications. By the eighteen-fifties when Dickens was writing his more mature and carefully constructed work, both the political and literary tide was running against him. There was a reaction from humanitarianism and radical sentiment, expressed by Bagehot and Fitzjames-Stephen, while sober realism was the literary fashion. George Eliot and Anthony Trollope, both of whom despised Dickens as fantastic and superficial, were the most admired novelists in the last decade of his life.

Dr. Fielding follows chronologically the trajectory of his subject's literary career, keeping in view his other activities, editorships, amateur theatricals, charitable work and public readings. He considers that these practical activities were really a form of recreation from imaginative work, and that far from exhausting him they enabled him to return refreshed to his desk. His art may also have directly profited from the hours he spent reading and often re-writing other peoples manuscripts, during the twenty years of active editorship of his weekly magazine. It might be added that the power to organise a group of people in a successful action is in itself a particular talent, with which Dickens was richly endowed. It is fortunate for us that he was not born in a higher social sphere where the man of action might have found scope at the expense of his creative powers.

Though this is not strictly a biography, Dr. Fielding describes the outstanding events in Dickens's life, and discusses dispassionately the breakdown of his marriage, which still remains something

of an enigma. It is hard to get a clear picture of Mrs. Dickens, as she seems to have made no positive impression on any of her contemporaries and Dickens, except during the actual crisis when accusations and counter-accusations filled the air, never discusses her in his letters. Dr. Fielding thinks the part played by Ellen Ternan in Dickens's later years has been exaggerated, as well as the acute melancholy from which he has been supposed to suffer. Too many witnesses have described the glow of happiness he shed around him to make it believable that he was a constant prey to guilt, jealousy and despair. He was certainly saddened by the deaths of many of his contemporaries, and the unsatisfactory development of his sons, and his health, never robust, deteriorated rapidly in his last five years. But considering the extraordinary intensity of his nature and his nervous energy, it is only surprising that he survived to fifty-eight.

As well as giving a chronological sketch of Dickens's literary career, Dr. Fielding discusses the novels separately and has something fresh and interesting to say about each of them. Readers may disagree with some of his judgments—he hardly does justice to the power of *Our Mutual Friend*, though he rightly points out that the dust-heaps have not the sinister significance attributed to them. And like most critics for the last hundred years, he cannot understand the enthusiasm felt for Little Nell by her contemporaries. But surely her appeal was not, as he suggests, to old bachelors denied the love of children, but to bereaved parents like Macready and Jeffrey. For the first time a common domestic grief was given literary expression and found an echo in thousands of hearts. The story ceased to move after it had been copied and vulgarised in dozens of books and plays, and when the advance of medical science in the nineteenth century made the invalid child a rarity, except among the poor.

Though this is a short book the most experienced Dickensian is almost sure to find some fresh items of information and will be pleased by the author's balanced judgements on events and characters. The friendship with Wilkie Collins is put in proper perspective and justice is done to the importance, as literary critic and adviser, of John Forster, not only to Dickens, but to Bulwer Lytton, Browning and Landor. Too often he has been treated as a comic or disagreeable Philistine by Dickens's biographers. The later Victorians reacted from their predecessors and raised formidable barriers against our appreciation of them. In helping to break down these barriers, Dr. Fielding has done a useful service to Dickens and his contemporaries. PANSY PAKENHAM

Charles Dickens—The World of His Novels, by J. Hillis Miller. Harvard Univ. Press, $6. Oxford Univ. Press, 30s.

Professor Miller, leaning lopsidely towards the new criticism school, attempts to define a Dickens world view and his concept of reality (he would not have him a romanticist—at least not a conscious one) with a minimum of reference to biographical and historical backgrounds. In his own words he " reverses the usual casual sequence between the psychology of an author and his

work . . . sees a work of literature not as a mere symptom or product of a pre-existent psychological condition, but as the very means by which a writer apprehends and in some measure, creates himself.. It matters not whether Dickens himself recognised such a sequence or no.

All the novels are examined. But *Pickwick Papers*, *Oliver Twist*, *Martin Chuzzlewit*, *Bleak House*, *Great Expectations*, and *Our Mutual Friend* are treated most fully. Unhappily the Christmas Books and *Sketches by Boz* are completely ignored.

Welcomed by this reader is the implied rejection of the Dark Novels theory which has been popular with many modern critics. From the beginning Miller and, perforce, his Dickens face squarely a single problem, which is traced through each of the novels: How does one find and preserve one's self in a world characterised by a physical chaos and a moral neutrality?

The Miller-Dickens Mr. Pickwick, for example, commences his peregrinations believing his is the best of all possible worlds until he becomes personally involved in it. Then, after the Bardell trial, he rejects injustice as " a kind of Thoreau realising " it is only by creating a private domicile protecting one's identity that one can exist." And so Pickwick establishes a Utopian circle. Pickwick is especially interesting because he becomes (what Professor Miller himself fails to grasp although it is consistent, if not inevitable, in his logic) a projection of Dickens's own ambition, a Father Protector. This, in the early novels, Miller notes is Dickens's favourite way out; the Cheeryble Brothers, Mr. Garland, and Mr. Varden each ruled over such communities.

While admitting with Dickens that such a solution was impractical or impossible for the great majority of the Dickensian protagonists, Miller argues that always " for Dickens the world is one unified whole, and if the relations between one man and another and between man and the world are not beneficent, they will be harmful." So often, he observes, the " Dickensian hero . . . lives like Paul Dombey, with an aching void in his young heart, and all outside so cold, and bare, and strange." These must find sustentation, he argues, in someone or something. Little Dorrit and Sidney Carton find it in a perfect love through self abnegation. Curiously, Miller fails to recognise that Wemmick finds it in the Aged P. and the Castle at Walworth—he is taken in by his pose for Pip and his declaration: " My guiding star is: Get hold of Portable Property " which is only meant as a cryptic criticism of the hero. The Professor even suggests that Wemmick is a potential but dormant Blandois!!

Finally, the Miller Dickens key to salvation is individual responsible action: " to take responsibility for arranging the world is to take responsibility for making the self, and to escape at last from the grim alternatives of guilty action, passivity or isolation which are initially the sole possibilities in the imaginative universe of Dickens."

Although Professor Miller's study too often suffers from wordiness and heavy phrasing that mars its literary quality, his argument, even when it is not wholly convincing, is valuable and interesting.

N. C. Peyrouton.

Craft and Character in Modern Fiction, by Morton Dauwen Zabel. Gollancz, 21*s*.

American scholars have contributed splendidly to Dickens-studies in the past decade, and it was an American critic, Edmund Wilson, who began the recent reinterpretation of the novels, with his " Two Scrooges " essay in 1941. Professor Morton Dauwen Zabel, of Chicago, clearly owes much to Wilson's lead, and his thoughtful chapters on Dickens, in *Craft and Character in Modern Fiction*—the first of them significantly entitled " The Reputation Revised "—provide an opportunity to discuss the view of Dickens which is becoming orthodoxy among academic critics, particularly in the U.S.A.

Dickens is the subject of one of the longest studies in the book. The " character " in its title refers, not to the author's imagined people, but to his artistic individuality, his " personal consciousness, responsibility, and identity ". Zabel finds Dickens hard to categorise in this sense. " He still comes to us as many things—storyteller, moralist, and entertainer; historian, journalist, reformer, and prophet. But perhaps most of all he appears as a fact, a phenomenon, a prodigious comprehensive sensibility, a witness of history in the great crisis at which it arrived in mid-Nineteenth Century Europe . . . He is a moment in the conscience of man." It is Dickens the Victorian, responding instinctively to the deepest social problems of his period, and himself sharing in and exemplifying its errors, vigour and confusions, that Zabel sees; though he notes also that he had " a force of larger vision and humanity that over-leaped his age and enabled him to produce fables that define deep-seated and permanent elements in the condition and ordeal of mankind . . . He fixed the elements of virtue and evil in human nature in essential and definitive forms." This is well argued and well said. Two novels he discusses in detail: *Bleak House* and—a more original choice, though he writes less interestingly about it—*A Tale of Two Cities*; it is the mature " dark novels " he most admires, and he claims that their underlying truth is tragic. " Its deepest instinct was critical, doubtful, exacerbated, rather than confident," and Dickens's " surface optimism was, we may be sure, a subterfuge of his public life." Another note, typical of the Wilson-Zabel approach, is the claim that now " we see in his work as a whole not only a coherence of meaning but also a developing craftsmanship and line of purpose which earlier enthusiasts were likely to miss."

This new spirit in Dickens-criticism has usefully challenged earlier orthodoxies, which disparaged him as incoherent, superficial, and insufficiently serious, or celebrated him only as jolly, high-spirited and funny. But are not these new critics taking him too seriously, in both senses of the word ? Zabel says many good things about the organisation and narration of *Bleak House*, but makes it out a more coherent novel than it is. Some of the thematic echoes he detects are, in fact, faint, and he puts more weight on some " symbolic " episodes than they will bear. One example is his surmise that Krook's death may represent Dickens's " furtive appeal to the laws of science in the desperation he felt before the insoluble corruptions which had come to curse and sicken the life

of humanity like an incurable disease." His claims for the characterisation of Sidney Carton, and for the significance of his " Resurrection and the Life " quotation, are similarly excessive, though plausibly argued. Still, the attempt to find deep significance and relevance in Dickens's every detail is worth making, and not all of Zabel's discoveries are so questionable.

The graver deficiency is his failure to notice, let alone respond to or assess the " significance " of, Dickens's humour. This, as Forster said, is " his leading quality . . . He was conscious of this himself "; and Forster noted that it went unmentioned by Taine (whom, along with Gissing and Shaw, Zabel considers the best Victorian critics of Dickens). In 30,000 words, Zabel mentions Dickens's humour three times, only once commenting on it, and then briefly and in a tone of suspicion. " Irony "—a " good " word in modern criticism—is often referred to, and Zabel does bring himself to notice Dickens's earlier " zest, spontaneity and vividness . . . free invention and exuberance," but nowhere does he use such low words as *laughter*, *fun*, or *joke*. The critic who virtually ignores Dickens's humour has, certainly, much still left to discuss profitably, and we must be grateful for being shown these neglected aspects; but he has missed, not only a major cause of Dickens's popularity, but also an essential element in his outlook on life. " I have an inexpressible enjoyment of what I see in a droll light," Dickens wrote: but one would hardly guess, from Zabel's study, that enjoyment came often to a Dickens eaten up with personal miseries and public exasperation and despair about the state of human nature in general and English society in particular. It is gratifying that another American, Mr. William R. Clark, has been counter-attacking against Zabel, Wilson and their fellows, in an article commended in the last *Dickensian*, with a timely insistence that Dickens is permanent " because he has a high and healthy literary metabolism, because he conveys in the main a sense of euphoria and vitality, because he has the kind of imagination which translates us *out of the prison of life*."

There are a few slips in this interesting book. We are not " the orthodox Dickens Society ", Dickens's monthly serials did not have fourteen or eighteen Numbers, and Dickens did not write the " Martyrs of Chancery " articles. Messrs. Gollancz must, as often, be congratulated on producing a substantial book at reasonable price, but they should have seen that this English edition contained references to English books—by Orwell, Eliot, and others—under their English titles and page-references.

P. A. W. Collins.

THE THEATRICAL TERNANS

By Malcolm Morley

Part IV

(*Continued from Vol. LIV, p.* 164).

ON September 7th, 1857, Dickens and Wilkie Collins set out on *The Lazy Tour of Two Idle Apprentices.* Such was to be the title in general of the contributions they made to *Household Words*, contributions inspired by their wanderings in Northumbria. Collins sprained an ankle badly whilst climbing the gloomy old mountain of Carrick Fell. He literally had to be carried down by Dickens and from place to place. The tour was somewhat handicapped after this experience although, with the help of two sticks and piloted by Dickens, the injured traveller managed to negotiate the railway stations of Lancaster, Carlisle and Leeds, eventually to reach Doncaster in time for the Races and the opening of the Theatre Royal, where Edward Addison was bringing what he proudly called Charles Kean's Princess's Company. The names of twenty-four players were listed: J. F. Cathcart was the leading man and George Ellis the Stage Manager, both of whom had served with Kean in London. Included in the company were Maria and Ellen Ternan. The Doncaster Theatre, mostly closed for the greater part of the year, found it profitable to be active when the races were on. Audiences, even if lively and noisy, were assured. The town was invaded by the fraternity of the turf and crowded with racing visitors.

Dickens, who admittedly knew nothing about horses, attended the Races twice. Haphazardly he selected three names as the winners in the St. Leger and the two following events. One after the other, the horses all won. Incredible but true. In a letter to Forster he said he saw Palmer at his side everywhere in Doncaster. " Mr. Palmer sits next to me in the theatre " he wrote. Palmer had been the accused in a recent sensational murder trial and had been found guilty of poisoning a betting companion.

The Theatre Royal was to open on September 14th, and Dickens, in a letter from the Angel Hotel to Georgina Hogarth, wrote that wounded Wilkie " talks of going to the theatre to-night in a cab, which will be the first occasion of his going out, except to travel, since his accident." They both attended that night. *The Doncaster Gazette* recorded: " During the performance this evening Mr. Charles Dickens accompanied by Mr. Wilkie Collins entered the Boxes and both gentlemen (especially the former) at once became objects of the most marked attention and conversation. In fact the distinguished author of *The Pickwick Papers*—his greatest work—was evidently the lion of the evening." Dickens, himself, furnished Forster with a humourous description of the acting in *Money* which was the main item on the bill. It was followed by a topical number specially intended for race-goers, a Jockey Dance of five ladies who put whips in their mouths and worked imaginary winners down to the footlights: an immense success. Neither of the Ternan girls appeared that evening; both were acting the following night. To quote from the newspaper again: " The performance on

Tuesday evening introduced three young ladies who have, in former years, been distinguished as juvenile actresses. We allude to Misses Maria and Ellen Ternan, daughters of the late Mr. Ternan, formerly lessee of this theatre, and to Miss Fanny Addison, daughter of the present lessee." Maria played Mrs. Major Mortar in *The Ladies Club*, and had a song to sing accompanying herself on the guitar. Ellen had a smaller part in this comedy of Mark Lemon and another in *The Pet of the Petticoats*, with which the performance concluded. Did Dickens attend that evening? It would seem not. Did the Ternans accompany him to the Races or did he meet any of them there? Mrs. Ternan and her eldest daughter Fanny were in the town sharing rooms with the younger girls. Rehearsals permitting, as they probably did, some of them would surely have gone to see the all important event of the Doncaster week. The friendship that sprung up between Dickens and the family might have ripened during the time he spent there.

At the theatre most of the important feminine rôles were allotted to Miss Heath (later to be Mrs. Wilson Barrett), Miss Murray, Mrs. Addison and Fanny Addison. Those that fell to Maria were generally ones she had acted before: Ellen, with few exceptions, had only the minor of the minor parts. When *The Merchant of Venice* was put up on the 28th, Cathcart was the Shylock and Miss Heath the Portia. Maria was Jessica. Dickens was not among those present. Six days previously he and Collins had left Doncaster. September 30th was the Benefit Night of Maria and Ellen given under the patronage of the Free Masons. There was a bumper house, the best of the season. The late lessee, the girl's father, had been Brother Tom of the St. George's Lodge and was well remembered by the Masons to whom he had been endeared by reason of his generous and convivial nature. Mrs. Ternan and Fanny reinforced the programme that evening. In fact it was an evening of Ternans. The recent Tom Taylor comedy of *Victims* was given first with Mrs. Ternan as the emancipated Miss Crane (a new stage figure) and Ellen as Mrs. Fitzherbert. Then came *The Loan of a Lover* in which Fanny was seen as Gertrude. After this she sang "Lo, hear the Gentle Lark" of Bishop. The final item was *A Game of Romps* where Maria once more rollicked as Violet and Ellen had a supporting character.

The Season ended on October 3rd when the family unity was broken by Fanny going to Ireland, specially engaged at the Queen's Theatre, Dublin, for a round of singing and acting parts. They included Elvira in *The Muleteer of Toledo*, Kate O'Brien in *Perfection*, Gertrude in *The Loan of a Lover*, Julia in *The Welsh Girl*, Milly in *The Maid with the Milking Pail*, Rosina in Mrs. Brooke's musical drama of that name, and Angela in *The Black Domino* (originally a comic opera with the music of Auber). Touring combinations giving Grand Opera were beginning to spread across the country, sometimes singing in Italian, more often in English. Fanny's firm intention was to ally herself with one of these companies singing, of course, the principal soprano rôles. Until such time came she would perforce accept engagements in the provinces as a star, or more truthfully a starlet, performing

in pieces where songs were introduced and in the lighter musical fare ventured by managers of essentially dramatic organisations. December of 1857 saw her in Aberdeen appearing in a number of her familiar rôles and introducing ballads and arias whenever opportunity allowed.

Returning to London, Fanny found both her sisters regularly employed in metropolitan theatres. Her mother was presiding over the family *ménage*. Acting interested Frances Eleanor less than the care of her daughters. She had virtually retired from the stage although on occasions she was called upon to play some of her old parts at the Princess's. When Mrs. Kean was indisposed, Mrs. Ternan several times replaced that lady as the Queen in *Hamlet*. From Doncaster Ellen had gone back to the Haymarket where she was to remain for two years. The characters for which she was cast were never big. If no great actress, she was attractive in appearance and manner. With a voice that was low pitched Ellen was quiet and natural in everything she did. *The Era* credited her with a pretty face and a well-developed figure, adding that when she had gained more confidence she would be an acquisition to the theatre.

At the Theatre Royal, Haymarket, Ellen was in good company, the best in the Thespian world. The house was regarded as the leading comedy theatre in London or, for that matter, in the country. Steadily through the century, under the successive managements of Morris, Webster and Buckstone, its reputation had been upheld. The master comedies of English literature, those of Shakespeare, Sheridan and Goldsmith, were repeated from year to year; the standard works of George Colman, Arthur Murphy, Mrs. Inchbald, Mrs. Cowley and other noted dramatists were regularly revived. The company, an established one, was thoroughly conversant with the classics of the stage. New plays were far from neglected and it was at the Haymarket that much of the best work of Tom Taylor, Bayle Bernard, Stirling Coyne and Westland Marston, all in the front rank of playwrights at that time, were first given. Distinguished stars came to the theatre to play their famous rôles, supported by the resident company. Charles Matthews, Amy Sedgwick and the Australian Mrs. Charles Young were among those who visited the establishment whilst Ellen Ternan was there. What the Haymarket did, it did well. The range was from costume comedy with its elaboration of style to the boisterous absurdities of farce; from the emotions of domestic drama to the funning and punning of burlesque. Tragedy too, though favoured less, was not forgotten. The Haymarket, a hundred years ago, was something approaching a National Theatre. John Baldwin Buckstone managed to make the place pay for the greater part of the time he held the lease and that was some thirty years. To mention some of the permanent players attached to the theatre at the time; there was Henry Compton, grandfather of our own Fay Compton; W. H. Chippendale, the Sir Peter Teazle par excellence of his day; handsome Henry Howe; youthful William Farren; the debonair Edwin Villiers, and Buckstone, himself, with his beaming features and oily chuckle, everybody's comedian. Ellen had to hold her own

with the accomplished actresses, Mrs. Buckingham White, Mrs. E. Fitzwilliam, Miss Reynolds, Miss Lavine, Miss Henrade and Miss Fitzinman. Small wonder that few really responsible parts came her way. She had youth and played mostly the sweet young things who, in true Victorian fashion, said little and did less.

The first part played by Ellen after her return to the Haymarket was Louisa in a revival of *My Son Diana*, a one-act comedy by A. Harris. It was to have been given on October 13th but was delayed until the 17th owing to Patty Oliver being replaced by Mrs. E. Fitzwilliam as Diana, the girl who was so boyish that her father called her his son. On the 26th Ellen was Mrs. Fitzherbert in *Victims*, the role previously acted by her in Doncaster. It was that of a quiescent wife who provides her rake of a husband with funds through her needlework and musical talent. Mrs. Captain Phobbs on November 9th was a neighbourly young woman in *Lend Me Five Shillings*, a farce by J. Maddison Morton that was continually being done at the theatre. A new work by the same prolific writer of farces, *Take Care of Dowb*, produced on November 23rd, was acted twenty-seven times. Ellen played Fanny, who had little more to do than attend on the comicalities of Buckstone as James Wallop, a schoolmaster whose self-imposed mission was to take care of his late pupil Dowbiggen. In order to watch the goings and comings of Dowbiggen's wife, who is Fanny's sister, the suspicious Wallop poses as a scarecrow with ludicrous results. Another farce, the familiar *A Fish out of Water* of Joseph Lunn was put into the bill on November 30th. In this Ellen had but few lines to say as Ellen Courtley.

Amy Sedgwick's Benefit took place on December 23rd, when the young actress had a slightly better part as Margaret in Charles Matthew's comedietta *The Dowager*. On December 26th an old comedy in the traditional five acts was staged, *Speed the Plough*, by Thomas Morton, father of J. Maddison Morton. Ellen was seen as Susan, the daughter of Farmer and Dame Ashfield. A much mentioned character in the play, one who never appears on the stage, is Mrs. Grundy. Her name has entered into everyday language in much the same way as that of Mrs. Harris was peppered into the conversation of Sairey Gamp. Throughout *Speed the Plough* Dame Ashfield is in a continual state of surmise as to " What will Mrs. Grundy say ? " She invokes the opinion of the absentee lady time and again. Finally, when she hears that the simple Susan has not been led astray, as feared, by Bob Handy of noble birth but that the two young people are secretly married she has occasion to come out with the expression in a triumphant blast. On the same evening as *Speed the Plough*, the pantomime of *The Sleeping Beauty in the Woods* was given, making a full evening's entertainment. And so the year ended.

Maria by now had joined Charles Dillon at the Lyceum but before reviewing her activities let us continue to follow the work of Ellen at the Haymarket until the end of the Season. In addition to repeating from time to time parts already played, she was cast for a number of characters new to her. Another of Thomas Morton's theatre-worn comedies, *A Cure for the Heartache*, was given on January 11th, 1858. Ellen played Jessie Oakland, again

a farmer's daughter, a tearful lass neglected by her fashionable beau, Young Rapid. His waywardness is freely forgiven and her tears soon dried when, towards the end of the five acts, he returns to his patiently waiting sweetheart. On March 15th *Presented at Court*, by Stirling Coyne, was revived and Ellen decorated the Court of Charles II as Lady Shrewsbury. In *Shocking Events*, one of Buckstone's most popular farces, she took over the negative part of Dorothy on the 26th of the month. Shakespeare was more rewarding. She was Celia in *As You Like It*, on April 21st, supporting Mrs. Charles Young as Rosalind. Two evenings later saw *Much Ado about Nothing*, with Mrs. Young as Beatrice and Ellen as Hero. Missing nothing of the poetry she spoke the lines feelingly and without affectation.

At the Lyceum on May 8th a special Benefit performance took place and Ellen was given permission to appear there with the veteran drolls, Mr. and Mrs. Keeley. She was Mrs. Mouser in *Betsy Baker*, yet another farce by Maddison Morton and a favourite one with the Keeleys. Her next rôle at the Haymarket was Maria in *The School for Scandal*, on May 12th: Chippendale was the Sir Peter and Miss Reynolds the Lady Teazle. The theatre had been open without a break for five years and on July 10th Buckstone brought the Season to an end, the longest Season in the annals of the Victorian stage. There was to be a closure for eight weeks, during which time the company went to Manchester whilst the Haymarket was refurbished. Ellen had been a busy person since rejoining the theatre, acting in more than a dozen different plays, with attendant rehearsals almost every day. The backward and forward journeys to the playhouse could be made by omnibus, a difficult conveyance for ladies to negotiate with the hooped skirts worn at that period. But Frances Eleanor had taken rooms in London and furnished them. They were near enough to the theatres for the girls to walk, weather permitting.

The previous December, on Christmas Eve, Maria had opened at the Lyceum under the management of the happy-go-lucky Charles Dillon, an excellent actor of the romantic school, a master of pathos. Celebrated in the provinces Dillon was now being acclaimed in the metropolis, only to throw away his chances by the feckless, careless manner he conducted the theatre. Maria appeared in two pieces that night. The first, a carry-over from the past Season, was *My Friend from Leatherhead* by Edmund Yates and N. H. Harrington. She appeared as Lemondrop. Farcical nomenclature apparently demanded that her character, a footman's sweetheart, should be so christened. J. L. Toole, then at the beginning of his successful career, was treated in the same manner and bore the label of Mr. Loophole. Her second part was Laloute, described as a Discreet Peri Princess, in a new extravaganza *Lalla Rooke* by William Brough. The piece, a blending of the tales in Tom Moore's poem, was splashed with popular melodies and up-to-date allusions. A Harlequinade tacked on at the end made it appear something like the seasonable pantomime expected by the public at Christmas time.

Helen Faucit, guarding her health and acting but seldom, came to the Lyceum for some half a dozen performances. She and

Dillon played together in *Macbeth* on February 18th, 1858. The tragedy was given with Locke's music which provided dramatic singing parts for the witches of whom Maria was one. Four evenings later she lent distinction to Lady Plato in *A Rough Diamond*, a well-known one-act play by Buckstone. On February 24th, "by particular desire," Maria played Clara Douglas in Bulwer Lytton's comedy *Money*. By whose particular desire was not stated. She was Ernestine in *The Loan of a Lover* on March 5th and the next night was seen as Miss Neville in *She Stoops to Conquer*.

Maria Ternan
in a stage rôle

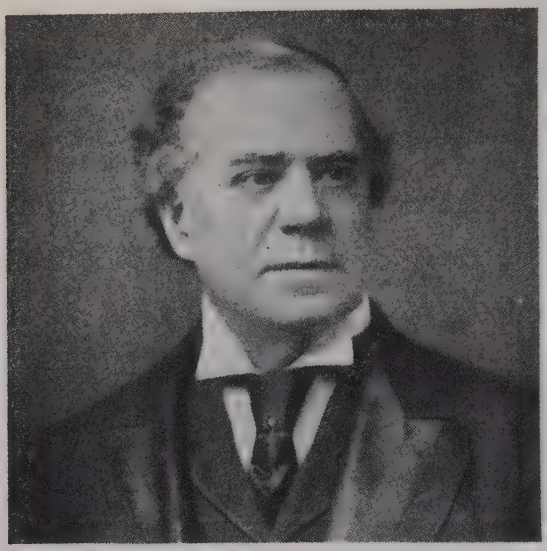
Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum

John Hollingshead, a contributor to *Household Words*, had written a farce founded upon an experience of his own. He had shown the work to Dickens in the hope that the novelist would recommend it to Buckstone at the Haymarket. But Dickens lacked enthusiasm and evaded the issue. Hollingshead then gave his manuscript to Toole, a protégé of Dickens who had seen him as an amateur and advised him to go on the professional stage. Toole liked *The Birthplace of Podgers*, as the piece was to be called, sufficiently to produce it at his Benefit on March 10th with himself as Tom Cranky and Maria as Amelia Maresnest. Tom is a slow witted son of toil living in a dilapidated house where the great poet Podgers was born. Literary devotees descend upon him from all quarters to the complete and utter bewilderment of the poor man. The invaders are routed when it is revealed that the Podgers born there in the past was nothing but a drunken ignoramus. Hollingshead's play was successful and remained in the repertoire of Toole for over thirty years. Another of the four pieces given on the occasion of the Benefit was *Our Clerks* by John Oxenford in which Toole was Puddicombe and Maria the rich and fashionable Emily Harden.

Dickens made atonement for his former indifference to the play by paying to go into the pit on the night of its production, and

enjoyed both it and the acting of Toole and Maria. A congratulatory note was written to Hollingshead and, evidently impressed with his writing and stagecraft, Dickens proposed that they collaborate in a sketch he wanted for some friends. The scheme was barely begun before it was abandoned. Dickens was preoccupied with the change over of *Household Words* to *All the Year Round*.

At the Lyceum, Dillon's finances were in a parlous way. Business was bad and the actor sought funds to meet expenses by appearing at the Standard in Shoreditch as well as at his own theatre.



John Lawrence Toole
the comedian

Results were confusing, particularly when, as often happened, the bill at the Lyceum was changed at short notice. A poor policy considering that Dillon, himself, was the chief attraction. His term as a London manager was riding to an end but before it finally flickered out Maria played Hero when *Much Ado about Nothing* was given on March 15th with Dillon as Benedict and Helen Faucit as Beatrice. She also played Lady Caroline in *John Bull* by George Colman the Younger on the 23rd of the month, the last night of Dillon's management. The Lyceum suddenly closed with salaries owing to the company. Maria was fortunate in securing an immediate engagement at the prosperous little Strand Theatre where she was to open on Easter Monday.

Fanny, by this time, had rejoined the family fold following her brief period of stardom in the provinces. Early in 1858 the Ternans were together once more, the sisters all very much attached to each other and to their mother. Charles Kean's elaborate production of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* was being re-staged at the Princess's and Fanny was at hand to play Oberon again,

which she did from January 11th until April 23rd, the performances alternating with other plays in the Kean repertoire in which she had no part. The evenings she was not acting enabled her to sing at various Concerts. It was about this time that Fred Belton renewed acquaintance with Fanny. In the past he had been a member of Ternan's company in Newcastle where he remembered her as an Infant Prodigy. Belton wrote in his *Random Recollections*: "When I met her years after, she was a confirmed bluestocking possessing but little of that beauty which was remarkable in her childhood, wearing green spectacles and bearing a solemnity of style. She lived in a world of her own; she sang at Exeter Hall, but her selection of songs was the highest of high art, consequently caviare to the general public."

But another, a more friendly friend from earlier days, had a greater appreciation of Fanny. This was the celebrated tenor Sims Reeves who was to help her along the path she was so intent upon following. Like Belton, he had served under Ternan at Newcastle. In fact, Reeves had been given his first stage engagement by Fanny's father a score of years earlier. His singing had prevailed over his acting, much as it seemed to be doing with Fanny. There was something of an artistic bond between them. When Sims Reeves had first achieved fame he had organised a series of concerts at the Beaumont Institution in the Mile End Road and Fanny had sung there, arias and duets. Now the English tenor was able to arrange that she be heard in opera. Mrs. Reeves (Emma Lucombe) generally appeared with her husband but she was retiring from professional life for a time and a soprano lead was wanted to take her place during the fortnight he was at the Standard Theatre. Fanny jumped at the opportunity and on September 18th, 1858, sang Julia in *Guy Mannering*. It was less of an opera than a music drama, the score by Bishop being supplemented with such popular ballads as "The Death of Nelson," "Be Mine Fair Maid" and "My Pretty Jane." All of these melodies Reeves made the perquisite of his rôle, Henry Bertram. Balfe's *The Bohemian Girl* given on September 25th did not allow of these vocal embellishments. Fanny sang Arline to the Thaddeus of Sims Reeves and though the occasion was encouraging it showed that a certain amount of training was necessary before she could ascend the heights in the musical world. And she was grimly determined to do this. A contemporary review said that Fanny had "a pleasing voice and sang prettily" but that her execution was not perfect enough to enable her to master the difficulties of a particular aria.

The friendship of Dickens with the Ternans had grown apace, and by this time was well established. It was his suggestion that Fanny should spend a couple of years in Italy studying music and the big operatic rôles. Knowing the financial strain it would be on the family resources Dickens offered to help. He also gave her a letter of introduction to Mrs. Trollope, the novelist, who was living in Florence with her eldest son Tom. As a young woman Mrs. Trollope, now nearing eighty, had lived in Cincinnati and written of her experiences there in *The Domestic Manners of the Americans*, a book that pre-dated Dickens's *American Notes* by

a decade and had met with similar opprobium in the United States.

And so Fanny, reluctantly leaving her sisters, set out for Florence, where it was arranged she should be a pupil of old Pietro Romani whose proud boast was that he had been the teacher of more *prime donne* than any Professor of his day.

(To be continued.)

DICKENS IN HOLLAND

By Dr. L. Verkoren (The Hague)

THE title of this paper does not imply—as might be supposed—that Dickens ever paid a visit to Holland. It would be very interesting to read Dickens's impressions of this country and to see how his "notes" compared with those he wrote about the Americans of the roaring forties. In the absence of such memoirs, this little treatise deals with the interest people in Holland have taken and are taking in the works of Charles Dickens, though it cannot lay claim to completeness.

Shortly after Dickens had started his career as an author several books of his appeared in Dutch translations, e.g. *Pickwick Papers* (1837)[1] was published in Dutch at Amsterdam as early as 1840, and in the following year already a second edition was issued. Another translation saw the light in 1862. *Schetsen en Portretten* (=*Sketches by Boz*) (1836) appeared here in 1844.

Several of Dickens's works were issued in Dutch translations in the same year as that of the original publications, e.g. *American Notes* (1842), *Martin Chuzzlewit* (1844), *Pictures from Italy* (1846), *Dombey and Son* (1847), *Hard Times* (1854), and *Little Dorrit* (1857). Others appeared a little later, such as *Oliver Twist* (1838) in Dutch in 1840, *Nicholas Nickleby* (1839) in 1841; *Bleak House* (1853) was published in Dutch in the years 1853-1855, *David Copperfield* (1850) in 1855-1856, so rather belated; *Dr. Marigold's Prescriptions* (1865) in Dutch in 1866; *Great Expectations* (1861) appeared in a second edition in 1867, etc.

The greater part of these Dutch renderings were issued in a large double-column illustrated edition with green covers. We still find copies of this popular edition at the secondhand bookstalls in our market-places, and it is rather exciting for us to realize that these were the Dickens books our great-grandfathers and grandfathers of two-boat days enjoyed at their cosy firesides.

A favourite booklet has always been *A Christmas Carol in Prose* (1843), of which translations are extant bearing the dates 1844 and 1866. In 1883 a translation by S. J. Andrissen of Dickens's Letters (1880) collected by his sister-in-law and his eldest daughter was published at Schiedam.

[1] The dates in brackets are those of the year in which each work was completed in English. Most of the translations mentioned are in the Royal Library at the Hague.

This far from complete bibliography may give the reader an idea of the interest Dutchmen of the nineteenth century took in Dickens's novels right from the beginning.

Nor is the interest of Dutch readers in Dickens waning, for that matter, for in this century thé Wereld Bibliotheek (World Library) at Amsterdam published translations of *A Christmas Carol*, in 1906, of *A Tale of Two Cities*, in 1907, and in 1934 of *The Life of Our Lord*, by the Rev. E. Wanting, with suitable illustrations by Gustave Doré. As recently as 1952 the publishing firm "Spectrum" started their edition of the complete works of Charles Dickens in a Dutch version in 34 pocket volumes. Among the translators were the novelist Godfried Bomans, now president of the Dickens Fellowship, Haarlem Branch, who translated *Pickwick*, Antoon Coolen, the author of regional novels, the poets C. J. Kelk and J. C. Bloem, Emmy van Lokhorst, the novelist, Dr. Van Amerongen and many more.

The same firm also brought out a translation of G. K. Chesterton's essay *Charles Dickens*.

How many enthusiasts in this country have read Dickens in English is a matter of conjecture, but the British tourist in Holland need not be surprised when he sees somebody in the train ardently reading a novel by Dickens, in English.

It is small wonder that the works of a novelist like Dickens should have had their impact on our national literature. To give a satisfactory survey of this influence requires an elaborate study and this would be a suitable subject for a university thesis, which to my knowledge, has not so far been undertaken. Let it suffice therefore to give a brief outline of this literary influence.

It was about the year 1830 that at Leyden University some undergraduates practised a cult of humorous prose. J. Kneppelhout, under the influence of French authors and Dickens, wrote sketches of student life. The Rev. Dr. J. P. Hasebroek also underwent the influence of Dickens, and Nicolaas Beets, the best-known of all, wrote his classical *Camera Obscura* (1839) under the influence of English prose-writers such as Sterne, Lamb, De Quincey, and last, but not least, Charles Dickens. In the meantime E. J. Potgieter (1808-1875) had started translating some of Dickens's stories.

Among a later school of minor writers with Dickensian leanings were Justus van Maurik (1843-1913), the author of farcical short stories, and J. J. Cremer (1827-1880) with pastoral novelettes partly in dialect. It is especially in Cremer's novels that we find a social tendency which is also not alien to Dickens's writings. His *Hanna de Freule* e.g. deals with child labour and strikes. Unmistakable is Dickens's influence on the greatest Dutch prose-writer of the nineteenth century, Eduard Douwes Dekker (1820-1887), better known under his pseudonym "Multatuli," notably in *Woutertje Pieterse*, and perhaps in a less degree in his novel *Max Havelaar*, in which his use of nomenclature is said to have derived from Dickens. At the present there is a school of humorous authors, among them Godfried Bomans, who continue the Dickens tradition, more or less.

In the field of literary criticism we mention the late essayist Frans Coenen, who wrote a contemplative study entitled *Charles Dickens en de Romantiek* (Charles Dickens and Romanticism) published in 1911. Coenen saw in Dickens the Poet who could lift up the dullest and most ordinary things from everyday life into vastness and splendour, and therefore he said that Dickens is at his purest in some of his Christmas tales, especially in *A Christmas Carol*, in his fairy tales of reality, and his poetry of domesticity. According to Coenen, Dickens is the most talented son of Romanticism. J. B. van Amerongen was the author of an elaborate thesis: *The Actor in Dickens. A Study of the Histrionic and Dramatic Elements in the Novelist's Life and Works*, published in London in 1926.

Dr. Van Amerongen was English master at a Grammar School and gave many readings from *A Christmas Carol* for school audiences and in theatres. No doubt he was inspired by the above-mentioned study to imitate the Inimitable.

Another Amsterdam thesis soon followed, in 1928, written by Frans Dirk Wierstra and entitled *Smollett and Dickens*. In this study Dr. Wierstra arrived at the following conclusion: " Looking back on the vast number of parallels, there is no escaping the conviction that Dickens's debt to Smollett must be considerable. His juvenile works are saturated with the Smollett spirit. Gradually he struck out a new path for himself, which is apparent in the novels of his later period, though even here he occasionally trod the old familiar roads. Yet, however much he owed to Smollett, we should bear in mind what I said in the beginning of this treatise, viz. that it does not imply anything derogatory from the fecundity of his mind."

For many years past Dickens's *A Christmas Carol* has been a favourite reader at our secondary modern and high schools. The present writer vividly remembers his school-days, when he first made the acquaintance of this thrilling ghost-story and the interest the whole class took in it. When the master himself read out a passage we all listened in breathless silence, not unlike Bret Harte's fir trees that " gathering closer to the shadows listened in every spray," as somebody in a Western mining camp read aloud the story of Little Nell. A much annotated edition (Wolters) is running now in its 31st impression, and another (Noordhoff) in 7th. Other text-books comprise *David Copperfield*, *Oliver Twist* (Wolters, 13th edition), *The Battle of Life*, and *Sydney Carton's Sacrifice* from *A Tale of Two Cities*.

The above may give the readers of this magazine some impression of what Dickens stands for in Holland. We are aware that more could be done, and hope, nay, we are confident that the foundation of the Haarlem Branch of the Dickens Fellowship will inaugurate a new era of the Dickens cult in the Low Countries.

DICKENS AND THE DOUBLE

By Lauriat Lane, Jr.
(Cornell University, N.Y., U.S.A.)

THE archetypal figure of the double appeals to a fundamental human belief, the sense that every individual is both good and bad, that within every man are really two beings, the saint and the sinner, eternally contending for control of the outer man. Dickens, whose novels by their archetypal quality appealed to such fundamental beliefs, used the double-figure in the presentation of his three most complex murderer-villains, Jonas Chuzzlewit, Bradley Headstone, and John Jasper. Each of these villains is profoundly evil and yet remains, in Conrad's phrase, " one of us "; each is presented with psychological insight and with terrible authority and authenticity. Compared with Dickens's earliest villains such as Fagin and Quilp, Chuzzlewit, Headstone, and Jasper are complex and real rather than lurid and mythical, not so much villains we fear as ones we can identify with.

Among the many ways an author can deal with this archetypal figure of the double at least one basic distinction can be made, between the internal and the external double. A writer may present a state of doubleness entirely within the character or he may, more symbolically, provide a separate double, real or supernatural, to stand for the other self. He may also, of course, use some combination of the two.

The author who intends to present a state of split consciousness in totally realistic terms presumably confines himself to showing the internal doubleness of his character. His only possible use of the external double would be as a completely independent character in the story with whom the real double, as in Conrad's *The Secret Sharer*, could identify. In spite of this external figure, both author and reader would know that the real doubleness existed only within the mind of the original double. One obvious development from this realistic external double is a symbolic pattern by which the external double becomes directly meaningful, according to a moral or psychological allegory. Part of the character actually rests within his external double. He is not a whole man without his double; if he should destroy his double, he would destroy part or all of himself.

In each of these possibilities the external double, as a symbolic figure or merely as an independent character on whom the divided mind of the internal double has fixed, is a real character within the story. But the external double may be only a phantom, a phantom which comes either from the mind of the character in the story or from the author, which must either be a hallucination or be justified by some kind of supernaturalism—as often done in German romantic fiction.[1] Mr. Golyadkin, Junior, in Dostoevsky's *The Double*, might be such a hallucination, although the author's ambiguity still leaves the possibility that Mr. Golyadkin, Junior, may be a real person on whom Mr. Golyadkin's diseased mind has fixed, or may even be a supernatural visitant, the devil.

[1] See Ralph Tymms, *Doubles in Literary Psychology* (Cambridge, England, 1949), chapter ii.

The author may also use an entirely internal double, whose dual personality is allegorised by some kind of pseudo-scientific or magical transformation of his outer appearance. The most famous example of this use is probably Stevenson's *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*. Even a disguise only temporarily assumed by the character may, if the disguise is appropriate to the other self, suggest this internal doubleness.

Neither of these forms of the double, the internal or the external, precludes the other. The presence of an external double in the story, as a real or as a supernatural figure, still leaves the author free to develop a state of dividedness within the mind of the original character. As in Dostoevsky's *The Double*, the realistic and the symbolic techniques can intensify each other by creating an uncertainty in the mind of the reader to match the uncertainty that must inevitably rise within the mind of any character in a literary work confronted by the external embodiment of his private self.

Dickens's best-known use of the archetypal double is in *A Tale of Two Cities*. The unrelated but identical twins, Charles Darnay and Sydney Carton, are two halves of an ideal Dickensian hero. To Darnay, Carton is a "Double of coarse deportment," whose presence before him is "like a dream" (Bk. II, ch. iv).[1] As Darnay, this ideal hero is a democratically inclined but a fundamentally aristocratic gentleman; as Carton, he is a self-romanticising version of the conventional fallen man. This double figure can thus both make a supremely tragic self-sacrifice for the sake of the woman he loves and at the same time survive to a conventional happy ending. Although this theme is oversimplified, it does reflect a very basic human dream, and *A Tale of Two Cities* remains one of Dickens's most popular novels, though hardly one of his best. In his treatment of Jonas Chuzzlewit, Bradley Headstone and John Jasper, however, Dickens uses the double in ways far subtler and more convincing than the transparent pattern of wish-fulfilment presented in *A Tale of Two Cities*. Each of these portraits of villainy has less scope within the particular novel than has the heroic pair, Carton-Darnay, but each is complex and psychologically interesting.

Jonas Chuzzlewit's guilt is first complicated by his having apparently committed two murders. The supposed murder of his father leads into a mythic narrative-pattern in which Jonas's evil deed is learned by the devil-figure, Tigg Montague, and the murderer's soul is committed to eternal damnation by an elaborate diabolic compact. But later in the novel this compact becomes an inadequate vehicle for expressing Jonas's guilt and corruption. The archetype of the double merges with the theme of diabolic possession and finally, in Dickens's presentation of the second and real murder, replaces it.

The main clues to Jonas's doubleness lie in his elaborate preparations for the crime. Arriving home from his trip to the country, Jonas locks himself in his room and tells the rest of the household that he intends to sleep for twenty-four hours. Then,

[1] All references to Dickens's novels are to the Everyman edition and are identified by parenthetical reference to book (when necessary) and chapter.

while to the outside world Jonas is asleep, his other, evil self goes out by a secret and unused door—the symbolism is obvious—to do the murder. Just so, according to Sir James Frazer, " The soul of a sleeper is supposed to wander away from his body and actually to visit the places, to see the persons, and to perform the acts of which he dreams."[1]

Even before Jonas performs this symbolic act of separation from his normal, waking self, the alteration of his personality is hinted at: "As the gloom of evening, deepening into night, came on, another dark shade emerging from within him seemed to overspread his face, and slowly change it . . . until it was black night within him and without " (ch. xlvi). He puts on as a disguise clothing that emphasises this change in his inner being, finishing off with " a common frock of coarse dark jean " which marks, just as the change in his face had done, the dark powers within Jonas soon to be set in action.

Once the murder is done, the doubleness of Jonas's soul is reasserted through his own guilt-haunted mind. He suddenly becomes terribly afraid of " the dark room he had left shut up at home " (ch. xlvii), the room in which he is thought by all the world but himself to be sleeping. This conflict between the world's sense of reality and what Jonas himself knows to be true joins with his guilty fear to produce a state of hallucination: " He was so horribly afraid of that infernal room at home. This made him, in a gloomy, murderous, mad way, not only fearful *for* himself, but *of* himself; for being, as it were, a part of the room: a something supposed to be there, yet missing from it: he invested himself with its mysterious terrors; and when he pictured in his mind the ugly chamber, false and quiet, false and quiet, through the dark hours of two nights; and the tumbled bed, and he not in it, though believed to be; he became in a manner his own ghost and phantom, and was at once the haunting spirit and the haunted man " (ch. xlvii). When Jonas re-enters his home by the same secret, unused door, he does " on tiptoe, as if he dreaded to disturb his own imaginary rest."

Jonas resumes his daylight identity and tries to destroy the evidence of his other self by sinking in the river the clothing that would identify him as the murderer of Tigg. But he has been watched by the almost supernatural Nadgett, and the clothing is dragged up from the river-bottom. Nadgett confronts Jonas with the signs of his other self. Jonas, having failed once to destroy his evil half, takes poison rather than go through the further mental agony of trial and hanging.

The use of the double in *Martin Chuzzlewit* is an example of psychological realism introduced into an otherwise melodramatic presentation of human evil. Dickens replaces the unreal and allegorical external double of Poe and Hoffman with a hallucination whose external existence at a moment of great tension results from a real psychological disturbance along with the externally-imposed symbolism of the author. The result, in chapters forty-six and forty-seven of *Martin Chuzzlewit* is some of Dickens's best writing. Much later, in his last two novels, *Our Mutual Friend*

[1] *The Golden Bough*, one-volume edition (New York, 1947), p. 34.

and *The Mystery of Edwin Drood*, Dickens gives us a fuller picture of the murderer-villain. But never does he present any more convincingly than in his brief handling of Jonas Chuzzlewit the rise under temptation of a weak but terribly human man from the petty evil of minor injustices to the original and greatest crime, murder.

Our Mutual Friend is a portrait of a whole society in a way that *Martin Chuzzlewit*, even in the American scenes, never is. To preserve balance among the various parts of the novel and to keep any single character from distorting the overall tone, Dickens avoids extended introspection and reveals his characters' inner significance by the external symbolism of their acts and by their relations with other characters. Thus, the divided soul of the schoolmaster-murderer, Bradley Headstone, is revealed primarily not by his own mental behaviour but by an external double. As with Jonas Chuzzlewit, the doubleness of Headstone's self is not continuous throughout the novel but appears only after he has decided to do murder. Headstone had already shown some symptoms of psychological disturbance, however, and the facts of his past life provide another reason, along with the pressures of guilt and the external moral symbolism of the author, for this doubleness.

Dickens describes Headstone repeatedly as " decent." But this decency is surface-deep; all Headstone's actions are done " mechanically " and " there was a kind of settled trouble in the face " (Bk. II, ch. i). Socially, Headstone is a divided person because he has tried to cut himself off from his humble origins and be entirely his new schoolmaster-self. Lizzie Hexam, a late version of the Dickensian angel, senses the potential evil in Headstone's suppressed nature, just as her counterparts in Dickens's early novels sensed the presence of the devil. Headstone feels even more inferior socially when he faces the gentleman idler, Eugene Wrayburn, and tries to warn him away from Lizzie. The antagonism between the two men is clear, as is the tormented state of Headstone's soul.

Headstone's love for Lizzie Hexam destroys his control over the " decent " and " mechanical " self he has so carefully created, and his real nature comes to the surface: " It seemed to him as if all that he could suppress in himself he had suppressed, as if all that he could restrain in himself he had restrained, and the time had come—in a rush, in a moment—when the power of self-command had departed from him " (Bk. II, ch. xi). In Headstone's final interview with Lizzie, when she rejects absolutely his offer of marriage, he tells her, " ' No man knows till the time comes what depths are within him ' " (Bk. II, ch. xv), and cries out prophetically, " ' I hope that I may never kill him ! ' " The stage is clearly set for the transformation of Bradley Headstone, schoolmaster, into Bradley Headstone, murderer.

When we next see Headstone, it is clear that the darker side of the schoolmaster's mind has begun to dominate. (Edmund Wilson has noted the " dreadful and convincing picture of the double life led by Headstone as he goes about his duties as a schoolmaster after he has decided to murder Eugene."[1]) On watch

[1] *The Wound and the Bow* (New York, 1947), p. 82.

outside Eugene's apartments, Headstone meets for the first time his symbolic external double, Rogue Riderhood. When Headstone speaks to Riderhood, the double makes a prophetic reply: " ' Wish I may die,' cried Mr. Riderhood, with a hoarse laugh, ' if I warn't a-goin' to say the self-same words to you, T'otherest Governor ! ' " (Bk. III, ch. xi). By showing how much they both hate Eugene, Headstone enlists Riderhood's help.

Rogue Riderhood is doubly fitted to stand for Headstone's other, lower self. This " desperate waterside character " has no sense of moral responsibility and has been a criminal all his life. Also, Riderhood has already died once in the novel, and is thus peculiarly suited to take on an identity other than his own. Ironically, as we shall see, Riderhood believes that because of his restoration from death he " ' can't be drowned.' "

Before trying to murder Eugene Wrayburn, Headstone assumes the external appearance of Riderhood by copying his clothing. When Headstone comes to the Lock where Riderhood lives, " whereas, in his own schoolmaster clothes, he usually looked as if they were the clothes of some other man, he now looked, in the clothes of some other man, or men, as if they were his own " (Bk. IV, ch. i). With this new bond between them, Riderhood sees more clearly into Headstone's intentions than ever before and tests the imitation by putting on a red neckerchief, which the schoolmaster at once copies. When Headstone returns to the Lock that night, for one final moment his two halves contend for mastery. But the moment passes. Headstone follows Eugene to his destination, sees him with Lizzie Hexam, and returns once more, intent on murder and wearing the neckerchief. In the last second before Eugene collapses under Headstone's brutal attack, he turns and sees " a red neckerchief—unless the raining down of his own blood gave it that hue " (Bk. IV, ch. vi).

With the bloodstains on Headstone's clothing Dickens completes an elaborate symbolism. This symbolism is foreshadowed by the evening of the day that Headstone first comes to the Lock: " the sun went down and the landscape was dyed red. And then the red had the appearance of fading out of it and mounting up to Heaven, as we say that blood, guiltily shed, does " (Bk. IV, ch. i). The red neckerchief which Riderhood puts on repeats the symbolism. When Headstone returns to the Lock, full of murdering fury, he has one of several nose-bleeds, which cover him with real blood, ironically his own. And although he washes off the bloodstains in the river, the first of three such attempts to cleanse himself of guilt, he then has to put on the blood-red neckerchief to keep his resemblance to Riderhood.

The climax of the symbolism comes when Headstone assaults Eugene. The victim's last act is to seize the symbolic red neckerchief and cover Headstone with bloodstains identical to those he had washed off once already. When Headstone returns to the Lock, Riderhood notices with satisfaction the signs of the murder. Headstone, deliberately cutting himself and smearing the blood on Riderhood's clothing, not only reaffirms the bond between them but tries to make a scapegoat out of his external double.

Headstone also, like Jonas Chuzzlewit, tries to sink in the river the bloodstained clothing, evidence of his other, murderer self. He dives beneath the surface and returns to the bank cleansed of his crime and reborn into " another man, and not the Bargeman " (Bk. IV, ch. vii). But though Headstone has destroyed the evidence of his crime, the memory of it still haunts him. To the spectre of his guilt is added a real danger, for Riderhood finds the bundle of bloodstained clothes, brings them into the other world of schoolmaster-Headstone, and confronts him with them. Riderhood also notes a parallel between their names, and taking advantage of his new power, invites Headstone to come to the Lock once more. Significantly erasing his name from the blackboard, the schoolmaster agrees.

Headstone leaves behind him " his decent silver watch and its silver guard " (Bk. IV, ch. xv), symbols of his lost respectability, and returns to the Lock to face for the last time his other self. Riderhood taunts him with his double nature: " ' I see you rise up Bradley Headstone, Master, where you sat down Bargeman ' " and threatens him with blackmail and exposure. In the morning Riderhood brazenly matches Headstone's every movement. When they come to the Lock, Headstone seizes Riderhood, and to Riderhood's frantic insistence that he can't be drowned, Headstone only replies, " ' I can be ! ' " as he drags his double down with him into the waters. By this act, Headstone takes to the bottom of the Lock the evil other self already returned once from its depths. The schoolmaster dies with the murderer, asserting the same symbolic truth as at the end of Poe's *William Wilson* and Stevenson's *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, that the good and evil in man are inseparably mingled, and both must perish for the crimes of the one.

Thus Dickens presents the divided soul of Bradley Headstone by blending two techniques. Not only does the would-be murderer take on another identity to do his crime, but he is then haunted by an external double who also embodies this other identity. The initial symbolism of Headstone's appearance is reinforced by the symbolism of the external double, in destroying whom the villain also destroys himself. And these two essentially poetic devices blend with and reinforce the real psychological conflict within Headstone himself.

John Jasper, the choirmaster, opium-addict, and murderer in Dickens's last novel, *The Mystery of Edwin Drood*, is an example of the purely internal double. This novel, had Dickens lived to complete it, would undoubtedly have surpassed Stevenson's better-known story. Even in its unfinished form, Dickens's novel presents the problem of personal evil more richly and convincingly than does Stevenson's mixture of allegory and pseudo-science, valuable though Stevenson's story has been in focussing attention on the archetypal image of the double.

Although Dickens's first idea for *Edwin Drood* was the relationship between Edwin and Rosa Bud, Forster makes it clear that the story of John Jasper was intended as the central theme of the novel, and writes of it: " The story, I learnt immediately afterwards, was to be that of the murder of a nephew by his uncle; the

originality of which was to consist in the review of the murderer's career by himself at the close, when its temptations were to be dwelt upon as if, not he the culprit, but some other man, were the tempted."[1] The doubleness of John Jasper, unlike that of Jonas Chuzzlewit or Bradley Headstone, was consciously in Dickens's mind and in the novel from the beginning.

Dickens uses two specific facts to emphasise Jasper's double personality. By making Jasper an opium-addict, Dickens, like Stevenson, provides a physiological change to make the moral dualism allegorically explicit yet psychologically plausible. By making Jasper a choirmaster, moreover, Dickens places him in the tradition of those internal doubles such as M. G. Lewis's lecherous monk and Hawthorne's guilty minister, whose outer moral selves contrast violently with their inner depravity.

The opening words of *Edwin Drood* show Jasper's divided mind by superimposing the " ancient English Cathedral Tower " and " the rusty iron spike on top of a post of an old bedstead " as the two dominant images in his opium-fantasy. Dickens calls Jasper " the man whose scattered consciousness has thus fantastically pieced itself together," and after Jasper has resumed his duties as choirmaster, a conversation between the Dean and Mr. Tope takes on extra meaning: " 'And Mr. Jasper has gone home quite himself, has he ? ' asked the Dean. ' Your Reverence, he has gone home quite himself.' " (ch. ii.) When Jasper meets the nephew he is to murder, he has a seizure which he explains medically but which is actually a return to his opium-self. Edwin thanks him for " ' painfully laying your inner self bare,' " and says, with more truth than he knows, " ' you were very much moved, and very unlike your usual self ' " (ch. ii). Jasper's insistence on " warning " his nephew, though he never says of what, also shows the inner struggle between his love for Edwin and his increasing impulse to do murder.

Various critics have commented on Jasper's behaviour. Edmund Wilson accepts Howard Duffield's suggestion that Jasper is a Thug, implies that Jasper himself may even be a Hindu, and sees in his character the climax of a recurrent Dickensian type— " the Victorian hypocrite."[2] Jack Lindsay sees in the novel " a strange unapprehended conflict between India and Cloisterham," and relates Jasper's character to Dickens's own emotional state when he wrote the novel.[3] Richard M. Baker places emphasis on a possible identification of Jasper with Dickens as men apart from Victorian society.[4] And finally, Edgar Johnson sees in the novel " all the imperialist tentacles of England," as well as " the position of the artist and his relation to Victorian society."[5]

All of these suggestions are interesting and are pertinent to the novel to a degree. But it should also be possible to derive an explanation entirely from within the character of John Jasper himself, rather than from the social problems of Victorian England or the personal problems of Charles Dickens.

1 *Life of Charles Dickens*, Everyman's Library, II, 366.
2 *The Wound and the Bow*, p. 103.
3 *Charles Dickens* (New York, 1950), pp. 392, 397.
4 *The Drood Murder Case* (Berkeley, 1951), *passim*.
5 *Charles Dickens* (New York, 1952), pp. 1120, 1123.

The most basic cause of the double personality of the choirmaster murderer would seem to lie in the relationship between John Jasper and Edwin Drood. Dickens makes obvious Jasper's very strong love for his nephew. Jasper tells Mrs. Tope that " ' Uncle and Nephew are words prohibited here ' " (ch. ii) and emphasises how slight is the difference in ages between himself and his nephew. Most significant of all, Edwin tells Rosa that " ' with me Jack is always impulsive and hurried, and, I may say, almost womanish ' " (ch. xiii). (Baker notes Jasper's " almost womanish solicitation " and how " he makes frequent use of endearing terms, and is not averse to touching the object of his affection."[1]) Here, I think, Dickens comes closest to revealing the real split within the soul of John Jasper. Beneath the social symbolism of the " Victorian hypocrite," beneath the plot-secret of Jasper's other, London-opium, Thug-strangler self, lies the true explanation. Torn between his active desire for Rosa Bud and an excessive love for his nephew, John Jasper represents a far subtler psychological problem than Dickens had ever before hinted at.

This interpretation provides a much stronger justification for much of Jasper's conduct. It explains the murderous violence of his aggression towards his nephew, compounded as it is with excessive love, and makes his behaviour after the murder even more revealing. His violent fit on learning that Edwin and Rosa had already broken their engagement is doubly justified, for not only has the choirmaster committed a moral and legal crime for which there was no need, but he has destroyed one of the two people he loved more than anything else in the world. Jasper's love for Edwin was fully as deep as his desire for Rosa—Dickens makes this clear in Jasper's first meeting with Edwin—and his real motive for the murder may well have been not to prevent the loss of Rosa to Edwin, as is generally assumed, but to prevent the loss of Edwin to a marital relationship in which there would be no place for the too loving uncle.

Jasper's stated resolve to " fasten the crime of the murder of my dear dead boy upon the murderer " and " devote myself to his destruction " (ch. xvi) shows that already he has begun to dissociate himself from his criminal half of his personality. Earlier in the novel Dickens had foreshadowed this when he said of Durdles, " He often speaks of himself in the third person; perhaps, being a little misty as to his own identity, when he narrates " (ch. iv). Dickens also had suggested, as many critics have pointed out, how the story could be brought to a climax and the murderer revealed: "As, in some cases of drunkenness, and in others of animal magnetism, there are two states of consciousness which never clash, but each of which pursues its separate course as though it were continuous instead of broken (thus, if I hide my watch when I am drunk, I must be drunk again before I can remember where), so Miss Twinkleton has two distinct and separate phases of being " (ch. iii).

For there was to have been a climax to the story and to Jasper's divided state. Under the strain of his guilt, and to fulfil his

[1] *The Drood Murder Case*, p. 44.

pledge to avenge the death of his beloved nephew, the murderer's mind was to split totally. The result would have been, in Forster's words, " the review of the murderer's career by himself at the close . . . all elaborately elicited from him as if told of another."[1] Dickens died before he could write this part of the novel. If he had not, we should undoubtedly have had one more example of his insight into " the criminal intellect, which its own professed students perpetually misread, because they persist in trying to reconcile it with the average intellect of average men, instead of identifying it as a horrible wonder apart " (ch. xx).

[1] *Life*, II, 366.

DICKENS'S DEBUT IN AMERICA

By William J. Carlton

THERE is some uncertainty as to the first appearance in print on the American continent of any of the writings of Charles Dickens. Pending the publication of an adequate Dickens bibliography the following notes are offered as a contribution towards a solution of the problem.

" Mrs. Joseph Porter Over the Way," the second of Dickens's published pieces, appeared originally in the London *Monthly Magazine* of January 1834. Six months later it was reprinted in Philadelphia, occupying three pages of *Waldie's Select Circulating Library*, Part II, No. 9, 26 August 1834. Mr. Cortes W. Cavanaugh, President of the New York Branch of the Dickens Fellowship, stated in 1929 that this was the first of Dickens's writings to be published in America, a statement repeated by Herman Le Roy Edgar and R. W. G. Vail (*Charles Dickens, His Life as Traced by His Works*, New York Public Library, 1929, pp. 5, 15). But as Mr. William Crosby Bennett pointed out in *The Dickensian*, Winter 1938-39, the same tale had been printed as early as 29 March 1834 in a New York weekly newspaper entitled *The Albion, or British, Colonial, and Foreign Weekly Gazette* (Vol. 2, No. 13, p. 104), and in its issues of 5 April, 10 May, 28 June, 11 October and 15 November 1834 *The Albion* printed "A Dinner at Poplar Walk," " The Bloomsbury Christening," " The Boarding House " and " The Steam Excursion " in that order. Apart from the fact that the last two were signed " Boz," as were the originals in the *Monthly Magazine*, no acknowledgment was made of their source.

The Albion was not the only American paper to think well enough of these early effusions of Dickens to transfer some of them to its pages. Horace Greeley, the famous journalist and editor of *The New York Tribune*, presiding at the dinner given by the American press in honour of the novelist at Delmonico's, New York, on the eve of his departure for England, was in reminiscent mood. " It is now," he said, " a little more than thirty-four years since I, a young printer, recently located in the City of New York,

had the audacity to undertake the editing and publishing a weekly newspaper for the first time. Looking around at that day for materials with which to make an engaging appearance before the public, among the London magazines which I purchased for the occasion was the old *Monthly*, containing a story by a then unknown writer—known to us only by the quaint designation of 'Boz.' That story, entitled, I think, at that time 'Delicate Attentions,' but in its present form entitled 'Mr. Watkins Tottle,' I selected and published in the first number of the first journal with which my name was connected" (*New York Tribune*, 20 April 1868).

The journal in question was *The New-Yorker*, a literary weekly, of which the first number is dated 22 March 1834. The file of this periodical consulted by me in the New York Public Library unfortunately lacks No. 1, but there is a copy of that number in the Library of Congress, Washington, and the Librarian kindly informs me that after a careful examination no trace of any of Dickens's writings has been found in it. On the last page of No. 2, however, four columns are devoted to a verbatim reprint of Dickens's sketch, "Horatio Sparkins", the source being duly acknowledged as the *Monthly Magazine*, in which it had first seen the light in the previous February. The date of No. 2 is 29 March 1834, and as "Mrs. Joseph Porter" appeared in *The Albion* of the same date, it remains an open question which of these two periodicals is entitled to the credit of being the first to bring "Boz" to the notice of the American public.

It was not until nearly a year later that Horace Greeley printed, in No. 49 of *The New-Yorker*, 21 February 1835, "Some Passages from the Life of Mr. Watkins Tottle, Chapter the First," the second chapter following in Vol. II, No. 2, dated 28 March 1835. The *Monthly Magazine* was again acknowledged as the source and to each the pseudonym "Boz" was appended, as in the original publication. No further borrowings of Dickens's writings have been found in *The New-Yorker*, and it seems clear that Greeley's memory betrayed him when he claimed to have printed the story of Mr. Watkins Tottle in the first number of his paper. Nor is anything known of a sketch by Dickens called "Delicate Attentions." That was the title of a clever farce by John Poole produced on 24 November 1836 at the St. James's Theatre where it interrupted for one night the run of Dickens's burletta, *The Strange Gentleman*.

THE REV. WILLIAM GILES

The copies of some of his early works which Dickens, in 1838, inscribed and presented to the Rev. William Giles, his former schoolmaster at Chathan, were sold at Sotheby's on December 16th. In spite of their extremely poor condition, the *Pickwick* fetched £120, *Sketches by Boz*, Second Series, second edition, £75, and *Sketches of Young Gentlemen*, £80. The letters of the novelist to Mr. Giles were also sold, that which accompanied the books fetching £170.

NOTES ON *GREAT EXPECTATIONS*

By T. W. Hill

continued from Vol. LIV., page 185.

Chapter XLII

1. DEAR BOY. Dickens has this memorandum on this chapter: " Magwitch tells his story in the Temple when Pip is 23. Magwitch is then about 60. Say Pip was about 7 at the opening of the story, Magwitch's escape would then be about ten years ago. If Magwitch says he first knew Compeyson about 20 years ago, that would leave about 4 years for his knowledge of Compeyson and whole association with him up to the time of the escape. That would also make him about 40 when he knew Compeyson, and Compeyson was younger than he. When Magwitch became known to Compeyson the end of Miss Havisham's matter must have taken place about 7 or 8 years before."

2. EPSOM RACES. If the period of the story is taken as somewhere about 1825 then Magwitch's memory of twenty years ago is not so very long after the establishment of the Derby Stakes that were founded in 1780.

3. UP HILL AND DOWN DALE. That is over any sort of country. The expression has been in use for untold years; it is alluded to by Shakespeare in *Midsummer Night's Dream* where the fairies sing " Over hill, over dale " in act ii, scene 1.

4. BRIDEWELLS. The original Bridewell (St. Bridget's or Bride's Well) was a royal palace of Henry VIII and was given to the City of London by his son Edward VI for a workhouse, and later became a prison for vagrants. It was finally demolished in 1863. Bridewell became the generic name for all prisons.

Chapter XLIV

1. WALK ALL THE WAY TO LONDON. In the previous chapter Pip left London by the early morning coach and could not have reached the Blue Boar till lunch time, when he ordered the breakfast that he did not touch. Then he spent some hours at Satis House before setting out for the twenty-six mile walk back to London. No wonder it was just past midnight when he crossed London Bridge. Dickens does not spare his characters violent walking exercise. Compare Pip's day with Bella's wedding day (*Our Mutual Friend*) or Ralph Nickleby's last day on earth.

2. WHITEFRIARS. The site of the Carmelite or White Friars on the south side of Fleet Street and between Farringdon Street and the Temple. After the dissolution of the monasteries the buildings fell into disrepair and gradually disappeared, but the name was perpetuated for the district.

Chapter XLV

1. HUMMUMS. An hostel in Covent Garden, so-called from the Arabic word hammam for a sweating-room or what is now known as a Turkish bath. The system of lettering the bedrooms described by Dickens obtained for many years. The hostel was demolished about 1865.

2. DIVINELY RIGHTEOUSLY. The over-bearing manner in

which the four-post bedstead discommoded the rest of Pip's room seemed to him to reflect the Divine Right of an absolute monarch—"a tenet pleasing to rulers of despotic proclivities."

3. RUSH-LIGHT. The "gigantic lighthouse in a particularly small piece of water" is also mentioned in *Pickwick Papers*, chapter xxii.

4. FOOLISH ARGUS. This description of the circular apertures in the rushlight shade is an allusion to the hundred eyes of Argus of the Greek mythology. When Argus was slain Juno transplanted his eyes to the tail of the peacock.

5. LAIN AWAKE. Dickens must have been very sensitive to the irritation that often accompanies restlessness. See also the description of Dowler's symptoms in *Pickwick Papers*, chapter xxxvi, and those of Wrayburn in *Our Mutual Friend*, book i, chapter xiii.

6. IMPERATIVE MOOD. A reminiscence of the rules for parsing in Lindley-Murray's grammar.

CHAPTER XLVI

1. CHINKS'S BASIN. A fictitious name. The description while seeming to be particular as to detail is as vague as that so minutely describing the neighbourhood of the equally fictitious Brig Place (in *Dombey and Son*) where Captain Cuttle lived. Col. Gadd after a searching enquiry made a plausible guess at the situation of Magwitch's hiding place near Mill Pond Bank, which he locates in Rotherhithe between the Surrey Commercial Docks and the bank of the river. (See *The Dickensian*, 1937, page 117.) But Chinks's Basin has not yet been found.

2. BOW-WINDOW NOT BAY-WINDOW. A bay-window projects from the wall and rises from the ground up; a bow-window is curved and is generally supported on brackets and stands out like an oriel. The two terms are sometimes regarded as interchangeable.

3. DEATH OF CAPTAIN COOK. At one time a very popular engraving by William Byrne of the painting by James Webber, R.A. (1784), who accompanied Captain Cook as official artist on his third voyage 1776-1780. The picture is mentioned also in *Bleak House* as adorning Esther's sitting room at Bleak House.

4. GEORGE III . . . AT WINDSOR. This picture is an aquatint, coloured by hand, after the portrait by Rosenberg, 1812. The king is in Windsor uniform, a black hat with a cockade, buff-coloured breeches, and top-boots, and carries a gold-knobbed cane. Behind him is a balustrade.

5. DOUBLE GLOUCESTER. The only difference between Double Gloucester cheese and Single Gloucester is in size; the quality and flavour are identical. It may be interesting to add the usual weights in which the best known English cheese are made:

Cheddar cheese	70 lb.
Cheshire	55 ,,
Leicester	35 ,,
Gloucester, double....	26 to 30 lb.
,, single	13 to 15 ,,
Derby	25 lb.
Stilton	15 ,,

(*Ency. Brit.*)

6. GRUFFANDGRIM. These adjectives had some attraction for Dickens. He uses Gruff and Glum for the old pensioner in *Our Mutual Friend*, St. Ghastly Grim for the city churchyard in *The Uncommercial Traveller*, Gruff and Tackleton the toy-merchants in *The Cricket on the Hearth*, and Grimwig for the irascible gentleman in *Oliver Trist*.

7. OLD AS THE HILLS. A common saying, almost a proverb, founded on the Biblical allusions to the apparently immutable character of the earth's surface, as in Genesis xlix, 26: " . . . the utmost bound of the everlasting hills "; Deuteronomy xxiii, 15: " . . . the chief things of the ancient mountains and the precious things of the lasting hills "; and, as a miraculous manifestation of the Lord's anger, Psalm xviii, 7: " The earth shook and trembled: the foundations of the hills moved and were shaken, because he was wroth "; in Habakkuk, iii, 6: " . . . the everlasting mountains were scattered and the perpetual hills did bow."

8. SWEAR LIKE A WHOLE FIELD OF TROOPERS. Swear like a trooper is a simile drawn from military matters and may possibly refer to the language indulged in by Marlborough's army as Partridge says it first appeared in 1727.

9. OLD LONDON BRIDGE. See chapter xxxvi, note 2. The difficulty and often danger of shooting the bridge on a falling tide was notorious.

CHAPTER XLVII

1. SOME WEEKS. The period was about two or three months. See Introductory.

2. THEATRE IN THE WATERSIDE NEIGHBOURHOOD. As Dickens says " it is nowhere now " it is perhaps hardly worthwhile pursuing the clue, but then in the last chapter it is stated of Satis House that there is " no house now, no brewery, no building whatever." So it may be mentioned that there was a small theatre, the Royalty, in Well Street, Ratcliffe, that was demolished in 1828 to make room for the Sailors' Home.

3. PREDATORY TARTAR. Probably *Timor the Tartar*, a melodrama by M. G. Lewis. Once very popular on the legitimate stage and with toy theatres, but now quite forgotten.

4. GEOGRAPHICAL CHOP-HOUSE. A neat allusion to the maps generally found at the beginning of most atlases, " The World in Hemispheres." Ring-marks on tables are also referred to in *Martin Chuzzlewit* (Chevy Slyme), *Bleak House* (Sol's Arms), and *Little Dorrit* (Merdle's banquet).

5. BED FURNITURE. An accepted term for the chintz, dimity, and other curtains and hangings of the old four-poster bedsteads. In the once popular comic song " Dolly Varden " based upon the character in *Barnaby Rudge*, two of the lines run:

" She dresses in bed-furniture
Just like a flower garden."

To be continued

DICKENS FELLOWSHIP DIARY

Branch Secretaries are invited to send copies of their syllabus to the Editor to aid him in this compilation.

Bath	Jan. 5th	New Year Social.
	,, 19th	Feb. 2nd, 16th, Mar. 2nd, 16th, Apl. 13th, 27th, Reading Circle.
	Feb. 7th	Birthday Celebration and Dinner.
	Mar. 27th, Apl. 20th	Whist Drive.
Birmingham	Jan. 14th	"Wm. de Morgan and Dickens." Mr. C. Parish.
	Feb. 5th	Birthday Dinner.
	Mar. 11th	"Adapting Dickens for Radio." Mr. Chas. Lefaux.
	April 4th	Dramatic presentation, *Bleak House*.
Blackburn	Jan. 8th	Papers by Mr. L. G. Gollop, Mrs. R. Gibson.
	,, 22nd	"House of Dreams." Mrs. A. T. Starks.
	Feb. 6th	Whist Drive.
	,, 19th	Papers by Mrs. M. Gollop, Miss A. Berry.
	Mar. 5th	Annual Dinner.
	,, 19th	Papers by Mrs. A. Astley Walsh, Miss Anne Heyes.
	,, 21st	Group Meeting at Manchester.
	Apl. 2nd	Rules and Branch Affairs.
	18th	N.W. Reg. Group Conference, Blackpool.
Blackpool	Jan. 8th	New Year Party.
	,, 22nd	"Dombey and Son," Rev. Dr. Kirk Smith.
	Feb. 5th	"My Introduction to Dickens." Members.
	,, 12th	Birthday Celebration.
	,, 26th	"With Dickens in Yorkshire." Miss L. Garside.
	Mar 2nd	Visit to Blackpool Lit. Society.
	,, 12th	"Some reflections," Mrs. Ruth Newell.
	Apl. 16th	Annual General Meeting.
	,, 18th	N.W. Reg. Group Conference.
Bristol	Jan. 15th, Feb. 12th—Reading.	
	Feb. 5th	Birthday Party.
	Mar. 12th	"Dickens versus Thackeray"—Mr. Clifford.
	Apl 8th & 9th	Play: "The Troubles of Mrs. Tibbs."
Eastbourne	Jan. 2nd	Film: "Beautiful Britain," Mr. R. Perry.
	,, 19th	Dramatic Entertainment.
	Feb. 6th	Birthday Dinner.
	,, 20th	"Dickens and the Theatre," Christine Mosley.
	Mar. 6th	"Balzac." Mr. H. B. Savill.
	,, 20th	Recital. Mr. John Greaves.
Hull	Jan. 2nd	Fezziwig's Party.
	,, 30th	The gentlemen entertain.
	Feb. 7th	Birthday Dinner.
	Mar. 6th	"Dickens's Place in nineteenth century Fiction." Mrs. D. A. N. Jessop.
	Apl 3rd	Drama Section entertains.
	,, 17th	Whist Drive.
Liverpool	Jan 20th.	"A Date with Dickens." Mrs. Grierson.
	Feb. 3rd	"Walks—Dickens." Mr. Peel
	,, 14th	Birthday Dinner.
	,, 24th	Play Reading: "Cricket on the Hearth."
	Mar. 10th	"The Minor Writings of Dickens," Mrs. Gallway.
	,, 24th	"Dickens and the Doctors." Dr. S. Keidan.
	Apl. 7th	Bring and Buy Sale.
	,, 21st	Annual General Meeting.
Manchester	Jan. 16th	Miss Hilda McGill.
	Feb. 7th	Birthday Celebration.
	,, 20th	"Pictures from Italy." Miss M. Corney.
	Mar. 13th	Members' papers.
	,, 21st	Joint meeting with N.W. Branches.
	Apl. 10th	Symposium arr. by Mr. M. R. Wilson.
	,, 24th	Annual General Meeting.

Nottingham	Jan.	3rd, 17th	Readings.
	,,	31st	"Victorian and Modern Books." Mr. F. C. Tighe.
	Feb.	4th	Birthday Dinner.
	,,	7th, 21st.	Mar. 7. 14, Apl. 14, Readings.
	Apl.	18th	Recital: Mr. John Greaves.
Plymouth	Jan.	17th	"Old Tims" Party.
	Feb.	2nd	B. & B. Sale. 7th Birthday Dinner.
	Mar.	2nd	Dramatic Evening. 26th Whist Dance.
	Apl.	6th	Dramatic Evening. 20th. A.G.M.
Portsmouth	Jan.	6th	New Year's Party.
	,,	13th	"Sketches by Boz." Mrs. N. Hurrell.
	,,	27th	"Surprise Packet."
	Feb.	7th	Birthday Dinner.
	,,	10th	Talk by Miss E. O'Brien.
	,,	24th	"Dickensian Theatricalities," Mrs. F. Midgelow.
	Mar.	10th	"Dickens and the modern world." Rev. W. Falconer.
	,,	24th	Recital: Mr. Eric Jones-Evans.
	,,	14th	"Shopping with Dickens." Rev. T. C. Heritage.
	,,	28th	"What do you know?" Mrs. F. I. Hide.
Preston	Jan.	27th	Drama Group Evening.
	,,	10th	Members' Night.
	,,	24th	Birthday Dinner.
	Mar.	10th	"We beg to differ," No. 2.
	,,	21st.	Group Meeting at Manchester.
	,,	24th	"Prisons in Dickens's Time and Ours." Miss Hargreaves.
	Apl.	14th	Social Evening.
	,,	18th	N.W. Reg. Group Meeting.
	,,	28th	Annual General Meeting.
Rochester	Jan.	15th	Short Papers.
	Feb.	7th	Birthday Party.
	Mar.	17th	Admiral Sir Gerald C. Dickens.
	Apl.	16th	"Enjoying Dickens," John Greaves.
Southend	Jan.	17th	Annual Dinner Dance.
	,,	28th, Mar. 18th'	Readings.
	Jan.	7th, Feb. 4th, Mar. 4th, Apl. 8th,	Whist Drive.
	Feb.	7th, Apl. 11th,	Dance.
Tewkesbury	Jan.	6th	New Year Party.
	Feb.	3rd	Birthday Dinner.
	Mar.	3rd	Annual General Meeting. Dramatic Sketch.
Wolverhampton—			
	Jan.	10th	Discussion.
	Feb.	14th	Famous Dickensian Sayings. Mrs. G. Lewis.
	Mar.	14th	"Some Seafaring Characters." Mrs. Jane Bacon.
	Apl.	11th	Dramatic Entertainment, arr. by Miss G. Scott.

Congratulations to Mrs. R. W. Hyndman, the new secretary of the Bloomington Branch, and our best thanks to Mrs. Hisey, who retires from that office. The like to Mrs. R. Callender who succeeds Mrs. F. G. A. Makepeace at Edmonton.

FRIENDS OF *THE DICKENSIAN*

Mr. P. G. Barlett, Miss S. D. Chinnock, Mr. E. W. Curry, Mr. Robt. Nelson, Miss L. Robertson, Mr. C. Wheeler Baker.

OBITUARY

Eastbourne mourns the death of Mrs. E. N. Goode, who, with her husband, presented the Dickens Hall to the Eastbourne Branch in 1924. We also regret to announce the deaths of Miss S. Morris, of Birmingham, Mrs. T. Bailey, of Preston, Mrs. John Corry, Mrs. Alvin Davis, and Mrs. J. Watson Stephenson of Marinette, and Mr. C. J. Wellings and Mrs. T. Bailey (Past President) of Blackburn.

THE DICKENS HOUSE

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31ST DECEMBER, 1957.

1956.	EXPENDITURE	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
£	To General Expenses—		
15	Stationery and Postages	26 18 2	
86	Petty Cash Sundry Expenses and Cleaning ...	126 0 11	
12	Telephone	11 1 2	
78	Caretaking Expenses	179 14 3	
377	Salaries	379 0 0	
			722 14 6
568			
12	,, Water Rates	9 14 2	
49	,, Insurances	47 8 11	
151	,, Lighting and Heating	123 0 11	
		180 4 0	
780			
15	*Less* Contributions from Dickens Fellowship	15 0 0	
			165 4 0
765			
79	,, Repairs to Building		148 9 5
14	,, Maintenance of Furniture and Fittings		16 5 0
11	,, Depreciation of Furniture and Fittings		12 8 10
51	,, Contribution to Miss D. L. Minard's Deferred Annuity ...		51 6 0
296	,, Excess of Income over Expenditure carried to Balance Sheet...		124 10 7
£1216			£1240 18 4

1956.	INCOME	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
£	By Annual Subscriptions received during the year—		
29	Friends of Dickens House		24 17 0
276	,, Admission Fees		304 6 0
2	,, Donations		1 15 7
	,, Rents—		
300	No. 49 Doughty Street	300 0 0	
35	*The Dickensian*	35 0 0	
50	The Dickens Fellowship	50 0 0	
			385 0 0
	,, Interest (Gross)—		
5	Adelaide H. Garland Memorial Gift Investment	4 14 0	
332	Walter Dexter Memorial Fund Investments	357 12 9	
			362 6 9
25	,, Grant from London County Council		25 0 0
158	,, Profit on Sales		117 2 1
4	,, Refund of Income Tax		4 9 5
–	,, Interest on Deposit Account		11 11 6
–	,, Reproduction Fees		4 10 0
£1216			£1240 18 4

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31ST DECEMBER, 1957.

1956.	LIABILITIES.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
£	The Dickens Fellowship—		
324	Current Account		504 8 0
50	Sundry Creditors and Accrued Charges		36 1 8
103	Adelaide H. Garland Memorial Gift		102 19 9
10258	Walter Dexter Memorial Fund	10257 10 3	
	Premium received on £1000 2½% Defence Bonds upon redemption	10 0 0	
			10267 10 3
	Library Reserve—		
26	As at 31st December, 1956		26 9 1
	Balance—		
	As at 31st December, 1956	6685 6 3	
	Add Excess of Income over Expenditure for year to date	124 10 7	
6685			6809 16 10
£17446			£17747 5 7

1956.	ASSETS.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
£	Freehold Property—		
5108	Nos. 48 and 49 Doughty Street, at cost		5108 5 2
	Furniture and Fittings, at cost, less depreciation at 31st December, 1956	245 8 10	
	Less Depreciation for Year	12 8 10	
213			233 0 0
	Library and Museum, at cost—		
308	As at 31st December, 1956		308 7 10
	Adelaide H. Garland Memorial Gift Investment—		
103	£188 5*s.* 9*d.* 2½% Consolidated Stock, at cost .. (Market Value 31st December, 1957, £89 8*s.* 7*d.*)		102 19 9
	Walter Dexter Memorial Fund Investments, at cost—		
	£696 2*s.* 4*d.* 2½% Consolidated Stock ..	500 0 0	
	£1792 14*s.* 3¼% Commonwealth of Australia Stock 1965/69	2000 0 0	
	£530 8*s.* 3½% Conversion Stock	500 0 0	
	£1000 4½% Defence Bonds (Conversion Issue) Converted from 2½ Defence Bonds ..	1000 0 0	
	£1128 15*s.* 5*d.* 4% Consolidated Stock ..	1000 0 0	
	£486 16*s* 4*d.* British Electricity 3% Guaranteed Stock 1968/73	500 0 0	
	£527 13*s.* 4*d.* 3½% War Stock	500 0 0	
	£600 9*s.* 8*d.* British Gas 3% Guaranteed Stock 1990/95	500 0 0	
	£2363 11*s.* 4*d.* 3% Savings Bonds 1965/75 ..	2000 0 0	
	£820 7*s.* 7*d.* 3½% Treasury Stock 1977/80 ..	757 10 3	
	£1215 11*s.* 9*d.* British Transport 3%Gtd. Stock 1978/88 .. .. (Market Value 31st December, 1957, £8064 17*s.* 10*d.*)	1000 0 0	
		10257 10 3	
	Cash in Bank	10 0 0	
10258			10267 10 3
—	Deposit Account—Westminster Bank Ltd.		500 0 0
4	Income Tax Recoverable		— — —
24	Payments in Advance		25 9 7
	Stock of Pictures, Post Cards, etc—		
209	Certified by Hon. Treasurer		176 14 8
91	*The Dickensian*—Current Account		136 12 1
1128	Cash at Bank and in hand		888 6 3
£17446			£17747 5 7

We have examined the above Balance Sheet with the books and vouchers of The Dickens House and certify it to be in accordance therewith. We have also verified the Investments.

3 York Street, Manchester 2.
15*th May*, 1958.

MORRIS, GREGORY & CO.,
Chartered Accountants,
Hon. Auditors.

"THE DICKENSIAN"

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31ST DECEMBER, 1957

1956.		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	1956.		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
£				£			
36	To Stock of Bound Volumes on Hand 31st December, 1956 ..		92 12 6	552	By Sales, including Subscriptions		705 3 11
17	,, Purchases	.. ..	4 0 0	170	,, Sales—Back Numbers		218 0 6
375	,, Printing	504 16 0		29	,, Advertising Receipts		83 5 0
19	,, Blocks	17 17 11		—	,, Discounts		0 4 1
90	,, Binding	21 3 8		93	,, Stock of Bound Volumes on Hand, 31st December, 1957 ..		52 10 0
39	,, Postages on Magazine	32 7 6		75	,, Transfer from Reserve (provided by Friends of *The Dickensian*)		— — —
			576 5 1				
35	,, Rent	35 0 0					
217	,, Publishing and Clerical Assistance	246 5 11					
9	,, Stationery	33 11 1					
33	,, Sundry Postages and General Expenses ..	39 0 8					
10	,, Advertising	— — —					
10	,, Audit Fee	10 10 0					
			364 7 8				
2	,, Bad Debts	.. ..	4 17 7				
1	,, Discounts	.. ..	— — —				
26	,, Net Profit for year	.. ..	17 0 8				
£919			£1059 3 6	£919			£1059 3 6

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31ST DECEMBER, 1957

1956.	Liabilities.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	1956.	Assets.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
£	Creditors:			£			
91	The Dickens House	136 12 1		826	Cash at Bank and in Hand		1569 5 8
22	Fellowship Branches	7 6 0			Debtors—		
37	Sundry	242 8 2			Fellowship Branches	75 9 7	
			386 6 3		Sundry	9 16 11	
	Reserve as at 31st December, 1956	577 14 8				85 6 6	
	Add Donations received during year (from Friends of *The Dickensian*)	261 18 6		98	*Less* Reserve for Returns	5 0 0	
		839 13 2					80 6 6
	Less Transfer to Profit and Loss Account ..	— — —			Stock of Bound Volumes on Hand—		
578			839 13 2	93	As certified by the Hon. Treasurer		52 10 0
118	Subscriptions Received in Advance	.. ..	174 9 10				
	The Dickens Fellowship—						
	Current Account	284 12 3					
	Add Net Profit for year to 31st December, 1957	17 0 8					
171			301 12 11				
£1017			£1702 2 2	£1017			£1702 2 2

We have examined the above Balance Sheet and relative Profit and Loss Account with the books and vouchers of The Dickens Fellowship relating to *The Dickensian* and we certify them to be in accordance therewith.

3 York Street, Manchester 2.
15th May, 1958.

MORRIS, GREGORY & Co.,
Chartered Accountants.

THE DUMAS ASSOCIATION

Objects and Terms of Membership

The Dumas Association exists to foster a deeper understanding of the life and work of Alexandre Dumas (1802-1870), and to promote an appreciation of French literature generally. Membership costs 20s. ($3) annually (students, persons retired or under 21 paying 15s. annually). The subscription includes one copy of each number of *The Dumasian* published within the year, i.e. May and November. *The Dumasian* will be supplied on request to Universities, Schools, Societies and Public Libraries at a charge of 6/- per annum, or $1 for two issues (post free). Donations towards a special fund for the improvement and enlargement of the Association's magazine are gratefully welcomed at all times. Applications for membership and enquiries should be made to the Hon. General Secretary, Mrs. A. E. Murch, Wroxton House, Wroxton, Banbury, Oxon.

BROADSTAIRS ANNUAL DICKENS FESTIVAL
1959

JUNE, 16th to 20th inclusive

Organised by the Broadstairs Branch of the Dickens Fellowship.

DICKENS PLAY "NICHOLAS NICKLEBY"
Adapted by GLADYS WATERER. From the novel by Charles Dickens.

Walking Tour of Old Broadstairs. Dickensian Tea Party and Costume Parade.

Conducted Coach Tour. Talk "Dickens in Broadstairs," Etc.

Further particulars of the Festival may be obtained from the Hon. Secretary, Broadstairs Branch, Dickens Fellowship, Dickens House, Broadstairs.

Please send a stamped addressed envelope.

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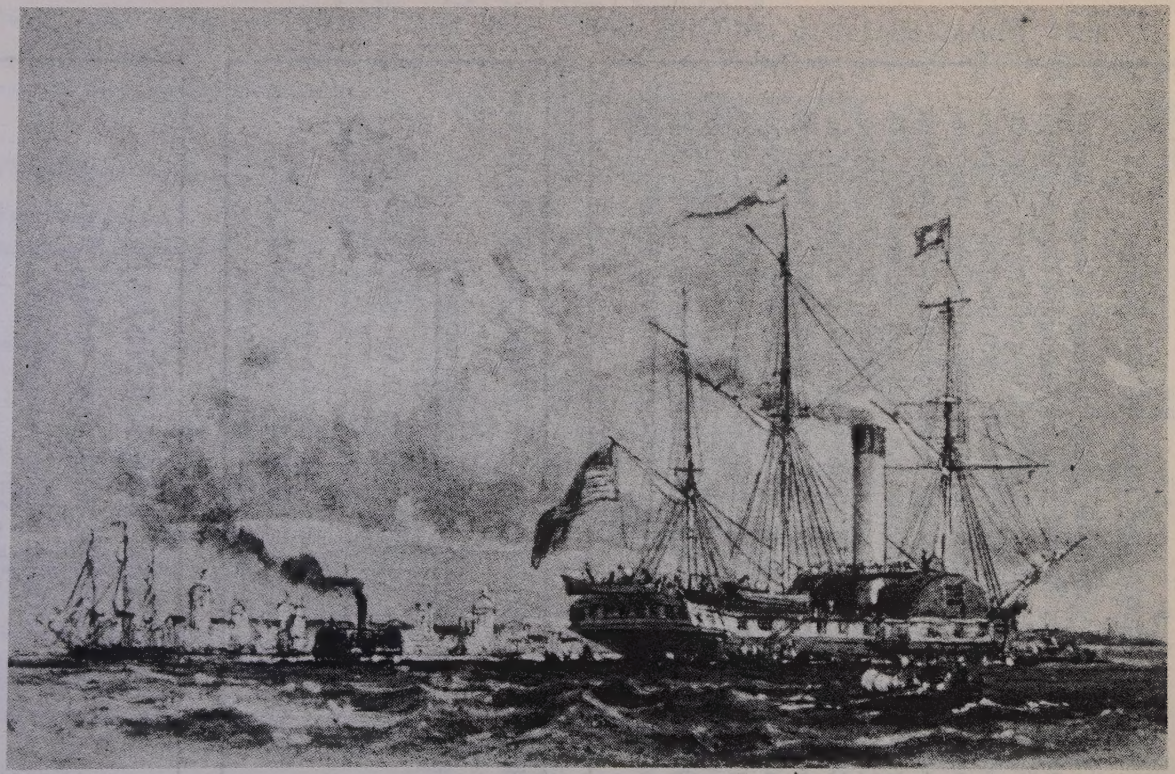

s.s. *Britannia* leaving Portsmouth, January 1842,
with Charles Dickens aboard

See *When Found*